



KANGURA

GASHYANTARE 1993

N°40

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHI.

100 FRW



- Ese abatutsi bibagiwe ibyo KAYIBANDA yababwiye aka kanya..... ?
- HABYARIMANA niyumve ibyo abahutu bamusaba
- CYANGUGU : Twagiramungu yamariye urubyiruko mu nkotanyi
- BURUNDI : Buyoya azava ku butegetsi muri Kamena uyu mwaka
- NSENGIYAREMYE yabwiye abahutu ati : Mwirwaneho. Ahubwo baratinze !!!!

BIMENSUEL INDEPENDANT
EDITEUR, GISENYI-INFO
REDACTEUR ET DISTRIBUTEUR GISENYI-INFO
B.P. 19 GISENYI, B.P. 1312 KIGALI

Abonnement annuel : Rwanda : 5.000 FRW
Afrique : 12.000 FRW
Europe - Amérique - Asie : 25.000 FRW
Sur cpte BCR - 14273/14 KIGALI

Tél. 40625 - GISENYI
73586 - KIGALI
FAX : 75408

Le contenu des articles engage
l'Auteur et l'Editeur

Tiré sur les presses
de l'Imprimerie Nationale du Rwanda

ETITORIAL

RUHENGARI NA BYUMBA ZARATEWE ABATUTSI BANYWA «CHAMPAGNE»



Ruhengeri, abahutu bahapfiriye b'abasiviri ni benshi cyane. Ngiyo imitwe irya, ngayo amaguru icyo, ngicyo igihimba iyi.... Inyenzi koko ni «abavandimwe?». Abagize Imana bagahunga, icyizere bafite cyo gusanga ababo ni gito cyane kuko hari umusirikari mukuru watubwiye ngo kuva yayobora imirwano ni bwo yabona abasiviri bagwa mu mirwano ako kageni!

«Jeune Afrique» yavugaga ibyo muri Liberiya S.V.P.!

Umuhutu k'umubiri twari kumwe ni Musangamfura gusa, akaba ari umuyobozi w'isibo. Nk'uko bizwi, icyo kinyamakuru gikorera MDR, iryo shyamba ry'«umucyo» na ryo rikaba rikorera FPR. Tutabitinzeho, murumuna aho Musangamfura abogamiye. Abo twabonaga ko ari abahutu turi kumwe ni Ingabo zari ziduherekeje gusa. Ni uko ari disipuline Ingabo z'imisizi igihumbi zifite, naho ubundi abo abatutsi....

Ntabwo ibyo byitso byatashye byishimye kuko tugiye mu ruhande rw'ihangana ry'inyenzi n'ingabo, zibonye ko ibitero bya bene wabo ari ukwiyahura gusa. «Abavandimwe» niba baguye ari benshi cyane kandi ari bwo intambara «nouvelle formule» igitangira. Moral y'ingabo z'u Rwanda iri mu kire-re. Minisitiri Gasana James niyitahire, nta wundi muti nta rundi rukingo. Ibitu ni ugusubira bubisi. Hari ahandi se badukinze? Umutoza wabo se Museveni ntiyafashe Kampala Okello akijijita mu mishyikirano? Cette fois-ci point de naïveté. Nta kuba ukundi umwemera gato rwose.

Kugeza nyine tariki ya 12 Gashyantare, nta munyapolitiki wo muri PL, PSD, MDR, PDC, uri muri Guverinoma wari wagaragaza ibitekerezo byego hagire umenya aho abogamiye. Turareba tugasanga harimo ubugambanyi. Minisitiri w'Intebe w'arabyinisha intebe adakwiye. Kubona ntacyo yari yatanagariza abanyarwanda? Ababisesengurira hafi bavugako we yahise yitekerereza amatara. Ku ruhande rwe, ngo Habarimana Juvenali yaba yarahatereye amajwi menshi mu matara ategerejwe. Ibi byaba byerekana ko mu gihe miringi zizaba zahawe na none rugari bazitwaza iki gitero kugira ngo bakomeze ingeso nshumba. Nsengiyaremye ntacyo ahombye kuko abapfa ari abakiga kandi n'ubusanzwe akaba abazira!

Isomo dukuye murugendo: abatutsi bahungiyeye i Kigali ari benshi, kandi hanze aha biravugwa ko kapitali nayo ishobora guterwa. Dusanze tuzi ko umu-

Ntizikihishira muri iki gihe! Umuhutu zicaga wese zamugerekagaho ingofero ya CDR cyangwa iya MRND. Abatutsi twari kumwe dusura Ruhengeri tariki ya 12 Gashyantare nabo barabyibonye. Ikindi kandi, hari Radiyo y'amahanga Kagame Paul aherutse kweturira ko FPR ari iy'abatutsi, akaba ari cyo gituma ngo yaje gushimangira muri ako karere icyubahirira cy'ubwoko bwoko. Tuzaba tureba icyo iryo shima ngira rizatanga. Ingabo nizikomeze zizishushubikanye gusa, ibindi bizakurikira hari abazabyirangiriza: Ukunukirije ntumunukirize akwita kibura nnyo. None se siko bimeze mwa bahunze mwe? Si uguhura ahubwo ni ukwitabara kuko bitabaye ibyo zakomeza (inyenzi) kutwica zidusekera.

Tariki ya 12 Gashyantare, twasuye Ruhengeri nk'uko twabivuze. Twari kumwe n'abatutsi benshi b'abanyamakuru kimwe na babandi bo mu miryango yita ku kiremamuntu. Ariko mu by'ukuri ababona bazi neza icyo kiremamuna icyo ari cyo. Abo bese babonye ukuntu inyenzi ubwazo zihambira abantu babo benshi mu cyobo kimwe. Ni nako mu Kinigi zagiyeye zibigenza muri 1991.

Ariko hambere aha muabonye ukuntu abazungu baherutse ino mu rwego rw'uburenganzira bw'ikiremamuntu, bagiyeye mu Kinigi bagataburura amagufa y'abantu maze bakagenda bemeza ngo ni abagogwe bo mu Kinigi. Benshi muri abo banyamakuru b'abatutsi banditse mu binyamakuru byabo bemeza ko ibyo abo bazungu bavuze ari ukuri. Hari nka «Le Flambeau» N° 2 ivugaga abagogwe 2.000 bapfuye ariko ikerekana ifoto iriho igihanga kimwe nayo yavanywe muri

Ruhengeri yaratewe. Yaratewe maze abatutsi bese cyane cyane abari muri Kigali batyaza rya vogonyo ryabo bari-renzaho «champagne» ngo abandi bana baratashye. Ntibagihishako iyi ntambara ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi. Icyizere cyari cyose ngo inyenzi zirataha muri Kapitali. Bishimye Radiyo Rwanda itarabilangaza mu makuru yayo ya mbere yo mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993. Abahutu rero nabo nibabangukire kwishima mu buryo nk'ubwo. Burya ngo igisebe cy'icumu kivurwa n'irindi rishyushye.

Nk'uko mwabonyemwe kuri Radiyo Rwanda ibitangaza, mu joro ry'ubuho wa 7 rishyirira iry'uwa 8, ni bwo umugi wa Ruhengeri watewe. Muri uwo mugari hari ibyitso byinshi, bikaba ndetse byaragiye bibwira abatutsi batuye muri uwo mugari ngo bihungire. Abateye benshi, bahungukiyeye ku kiraro cya Rwebeya, bazamuka Yawunde yose, bakimirana hirya y'aho bita mu kizungu, Kabaya yose barayizenguruka, Nyamagumba barayirasa rirakaka k'uburyo byageze aho bakayurira.

Inyenzi zasigaye hasi ya Kabaya ziraye mu baturage baho kimwe n'abo muri segiteri Muko, igice cyayo cyegerereye Kabaya maze babakorerwa ibyo ifundi igira ibivuzo.

Ibyo turugaga, ntabwo ari umupira w'amaguru twogera, ahubwo ni ubungu maswa bw'abantu biyise koko inyenzi. Mu kuri kose, amabendera ya MRND na CDR zabonye muri ako gace ni yo yabaye nk'ayatsa umuriro. Zahamagaraga abaturage cyangwa zikabifatira noneho zikabizeza ko nta kibazo. Ubwo abahutu 20 cyangwa 30 bagafungirwa mu nzu imwe maze bakamishyirwa ibisasu. Muri

hutu atinda gukongeza umujinya, ariko icyo kabaye ntabwo ntangirwa. Icyo gitero rero badukangisha nk'igitambambuga bakangishaho umwijima, hari ubwo gishobora gusanga ariyo saha abahutu bagiye guhagurukira rimwe nk'umuntu umwe. Wenda ni cyo gihe natwe tuzabanukiriza muri ayo mahoteri basigaye barihaye guhungiramo. Icyo gihe kandi, abategesi buzuye i Kigali noneho bazumva intambara icyo ari cyo !

Ku byerekeye abo twari kumwe dusura imirwano, twari kumwe n'abatutsi

bakorera i Kigali bamwe biyita ko bahagarariye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa tutsi. Abo batutsi icyo Major yaberekaga uko ubugome bwa bene wabo bungana, cyane cyane icyo baberekaga nk'abo batwikingiye mu nzu, abasatuwe amada, abashahuwe... Abo batutsi baramwenyuraga ku mufima ngo icyo abahutu bashiraga maze ababwibwira bagataha nta nkomyi.

Ngaho nimwiyumvire ukuntu inyenzi zitegereje gutahuka ngo zibane n'abahu-

tu zahemukiye, ukuntu zifuza kubari-mbura. Kubona abahutu bapfa, abatutsi bagakoresha umunsi mukuru, byerekeye uko u Rwanda ruzaba rumeze mu minsi iri imbere. Ku byerekeye ubugome bw'abo batutsi twajyanye gusura urugamba, muzabisa mu nyandiko zabo zizasohoka mu binyamakuru byabo nka: *Le Flambeau*, *Kanguka*, *Le Soleil*, *Rwanda*, *Rushya*, *Isibo*, *La Griffe*, n'ibindi mwigiyize.

NGEZE HASSAN.

TURAMAMAZA

ISHYIRAHAMWE RY'ABAHUTU BOSE : «TURI HOSE»

Ishyirahamwe ry'abahutu bose, bakomoka mu mashyamba anyuranye ryavutse !

Birababaje kubona abahutu aribo birirwa bamarana, bapfa ko batayobotse amashyamba amwe, cyangwa se badakomoka mu turere tumwe. Kubera ko abahutu bose ari bamwe kandi abo mu karere kamwe bakaba bakeneye muri byose abo mu kandi karere. Abo mu ishyamba iri niri nabo bakaba bakeneye abo mu rindi ku mpamvu zinyuranye. Niyo mpamvu hashyizweho ishyirahamwe «TURI HOSE». Uzaba yarinjiye muri «TURI HOSE», azaba ashobora kujya ahari abahutu hose, nta kwishisha cyangwa kwikeka, icyo ari cyo cyose. Yemwe no mu myigagambyo y'amashyamba abonekamo abahutu uzaba afite ikarita ya «Turi hose», azashobora kwihitira nta nkomyi. Uzahura n'ibibazo ibyaho ari byo byose azaba ashobora gutabarwa.

Umutwe «TURI HOSE», watangiye no gutanga amakarita yawo mu mahanga ahaboneka abahutu (bantous). Umutwe «TURI HOSE» ushobora kugoboka muri byose n'abahutu bari mu mahanga muri byose igihe bibaye ngombwa. Ngaho rero nimufate amakarita ya :
«TURI HOSE».

N.B. : Abifuza guhagararira «TURI HOSE» mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda, nimubarize ku buyobozi bwa Kangura kuri B.P. 1312 Kigali.

Uri mu mahoro ategura intambara
Uri mu ntambara ategura amahoro
Ukeneye ingufu ajya ku ruhande rwa benshi.

KUGIRA NGO IYI NTAMBARA IRANGIRE, NI NGOMBWA KO CDR NA FPR ZIHURA

Hari umunyapolitiki w'umunyamerika, MC Enroe wigeze kuvuga ati : «L'Amérique aux Américains», ari byo kuvuga ngo «Amerika nibe icy'Abanyamerika». Umuririmbyi Jimmy Cliff wo muri Jamaïca yongera ho ko niba Amerika ari icy'Abanyamerika, Afurika nibe icy'Abanyafurika, Ubuhinde bube ubw'Abahinde, Uburayi bube ubw'Abanyaburayi. Icyo abo bagabo bombi bashakaga ku-

vuga si ukubwiriza abantu kwigunga Oya ! Icyo babivugiyeho ni ukubwira abantu kwivanga mu bibazo igihugu iki n'iki kihariye. Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda ni icy'abanyarwanda gusa, bagomba kucyikemurira ubwabo.

Intambara turwana n'inyenzi-Nkotanyi irarambiranye dore ko imaze kumara imyaka ibiri irenga. Imishyikirano hagati ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi nayo nta-

cyo itanga kandi ntacyo izatanga. Igihe kirageze rero cyo kubwizanya ukuri aho kugira ngo dukomeze dutse igihe ARUSHA. Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda, intambara turimo, ni intambara y'abahutu n'abatutsi, barwanira ubutegetsi. Abatwa bo n'ubwo bwose ari abanyarwanda kavukire b'iki gihugu, icyo kibazo gisa n'aho kitabareba. Bagihariye ibihangange bibiri.

Intambara y'abahutu n'abatutsi

just

just

just

just

just

just

just

just

just

just

just

just

just

just



just

Kwinjiza inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda: gushyira urumamfu mu ngano.

Imishyikirano hagati ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'inyenzi-inkotanyi irakomeje Arusha. N'ubwo bwose ntacyo yagezeho kandi ntacyo izageraho, batubwira ko iki cyiciro bagihariye guzuzuma ukuntu ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi zakwinjizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Hari ababivugisha amatama gusa batazi ko bigoye cyane ndetse bisanibidashoboka. Nyamara bizaruhanyira.

Tubanze turebe niba hari ahandi byashobotse. Dufate urugero ku bihugu bibiri bitwegereye kuko burya ijya kurusha ihera ku rugo: Uganda na Angola. Reka duhere kuri Uganda: Muzi ko inyeshyamba za Museveni (NRA) zimaze kwirukana Tito Okello n'abasirikari be ku butegetsi i Kampala, zahise zigarurira igihugu. Nta musirikari wa Uganda wigeze ashyirwa muri NRA. Izo nyeshyamba ahubwo zihutiye kwikwiza ubutegetsi n'amapeti sinakubwira. Ntawe utarabaye "ofisiye" keretse utarabishatse. Kandi ibyo bigakorwa mu buryo budakurikije amategeko yagengaga ingabo za Uganda. Umugabo natanga ni Perezida Habyarimana dore ko ari nawe wabiyambikiye ayo mapeti ku butumire bwa Museveni. Abanya Uganda baje kubona uruhushya rwo kujya muri NRA nyuma nabwo ntibashobora kugera mu myenya y'ubuyobozi. Ibyo bigaragazwa n'uko aba "ofisiye" bakuru b'izo nyeshyamba bose ari abanyamahanga (inyenzi zahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959).

Mwatangara mbabwiye ko muri iki gihe, umukuru wa Etat-Major y'Inyeshyamba za Museveni ari inyenzi yitwa Christophe Mugisha Muntu, ufite ipeti rya "General-Major". Iyo nyenzi ikomoka ku nyenzi yitwa Muntuwera. Murebe namwe uko ziyoberanyira. Izindi nyenzi zari zikomeye mu nyeshyamba za Museveni ni:

- "General-Major" Fred Rwigema inyenzi yari ishinze imirwano mu karere k'amajyaruguru ya Uganda.
- "Major" Peter Bayingana, inyenzi yari ishinze ubuvuzi.
- "Major" Chris Bunyenyezi, inyenzi yari ishinze kuyobora "brigade" mu majyaruguru ya Uganda.

Izo nyenzi uko ari eshatu zivuganywe

n'ingabo z'u Rwanda mu Mutara.

- "Major" Kagame, inyenzi muzi cyane ikaba yari ishinze ubumaneko bwa gisirikari mbere y'uko itera u Rwanda, n'abandi nka ba "Commander" Kayitare cyangwa se "Colonel" Wasswa.....

Izo nyenzi nizo Museveni yadushumuriye zimwe zirapfa, izisigaye nizo zishakwinyizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda.

Urundi rugero rwa hafi ni igihugu cy'Angola. Ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola (MPLA) n'iz'ishyamba rya Jonas Savimbi (UNITA) zashyirwa kubana. Nyamara tukibuka ko ari ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola cyangwa se iza Jonas Savimbi zigizwe n'abanyengola kavukire. Bose bakaba bararwanyije gashakabuhake (Portugal); baza gushwana nyuma none imirwano ni yose. Izo ngero zombi zirahagiye kugira ngo tubone ko kwinjiza Inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda ari ikibazo gikomeye. icya mbere tugomba kumenya ni uko iryo yinjizwa rigombakubahiriza amategeko agenga ingabo z'u Rwanda na disipline izigenga. Kugira ngo winjire mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, ugomba kuba umunyarwanda ubishoboye, uri nta makemwa mu mico no mu myifatire, ukunda igihugu cyawe kandi ukabyerekana. Byaba byiza ubaye n'umuhutu n'ubwo ntaho byanditse. Yego u Rwanda si u Burundi aho ubwoko bumwe (abatutsi) bugize bwonyine ingabo. Ariko se na none...! Erega bene Musinga bazambya ibintu.

Kumenya inkotanyi y'umunyarwanda n'itariko ni ikibazo. Bose bitya impunzi z'abanyarwanda kandi tuzi ko ahubwo abanyarwanda mu Nkotanyi ari bake. Abenshi ni abazayiruka, abarundi, abagande... Kuba rero nta makemwa mu mico no mu myifatire, ntitubitindaho kuko aho inyenzi zigeze zigaragaza. Twakwemera kugira ingabo zirirwa zica, ziba, zitya ivandu...? Kuba inkotanyi zikunda igihugu byo twe kwirirwa tubivuga. Tuvuge wenda ko u Rwanda ruhumirije rukadohora, inkotanyi zishoboye ubusirikari ni zingaha? Zizaze zinyure mu myitozo yose abasirikari b'u Rwanda babona zirebere ko burya utabusya abwita ubumera.

Ikindi kibazo ni ukumenya umubare w'inyenzi nyarwanda mu Nkotonyi kugira ngo u Rwanda rutagira ingabo zirenze ubushobozi bwawo. Kuko bibaye ngombwa ko bagabanya abasirikari, mbona bari bakwiye guhera ku nyenzi. Kuko kugabanya ingabo z'u Rwanda ngo ni uko inyenzi zije byaba ari ukurenganya abasirikari b'u Rwanda kuko nta kosa bakoze kandi turacyabakeneye.

Ikindi abantu bakomeje kwibaza cyane ni ukuntu inyenzi zizabana n'abasirikari b'u Rwanda. Bamwe bati bazazimara uruhogohongo ngo keretse nibaziha ibigo byazu. Ibyo nabyo ntibishoboka. Ikibazo ariko gikomeye

kurusha ibindi, ni ukuntu inyenzi ziyita "inzofisiye" zashyirwa mu ba "ofisiye" b'ingabo z'igihugu. Kuko hari amategeko. Kugira ngo ube ofisiye mu ngabo z'u Rwanda, ugomba kuba warangije amashuri yisumbuye, ugakomeza mu mashuri makuru ya gisirikari. Mu Rwanda tuzi cyane cyane (ESM) y'i Kigali na (ERM) mu Bubiligi. Ntishidikanya ko haba hari andi mashuri ya gisirikari, arahari rwose. Gusa icyo u Rwanda rutagombye kwihanganira ni ririya tanga ry'amapeti mu Nkotanyi bayagaba nk'ugaba ink. Mu Nkotanyi hari ba liyetona, kapitani, majoro, koloneli ndetse na jenerali batatuzi gusomba no kwandika. Erega u Rwanda rugiyeye kugira aba ofisiye b'inkandagirabitabo. Baha ikarita akayifata icuritse nduzi ko ibyo kuyisoma byo bidashoboka. Ese u Rwanda ruramutse rutewe (tuvuge n'u Burundi), kandi birashoboka, inzirabwoba zatabarana n'abo bantu? Nimwibaze mwishyirakurikira.

Kangura





Bucyana, Nsengiyaremye agatoki ku kandi.

NAROSE NSENGIYAREMYE ASHAKA KWIYUNGA NA BUCYANA.

Bamwe mu ba konseye ba Minisitiri w'Intebe Nyiricyubahiro Nsengiyaremye bamugiriye inama yo kwegera umushi Bucyana akamuryoshyaroshya ngo areke kuyobora ishyamba ry'impuzamugambi ziharaniye Repubulika zikarengera n'inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi igizwe ahanini n'abahutu, ndetse ngo ahite arisezeramo. Nibwo Nsengiyaremye yatamizaga iyo ntarumikwa yitangiye gushimangira ibyiza twazaniye na Revolusiyo yo mu 1959 aribyo Repubulika na Demokarasi bene Gatutsi n'ibyatso bya (kubera inyungu zabyo n'iz'akare-re) bashakira kuburizamo. Iby'ingenzi mu kiganiro bagiranye kumara amasaha arenze abiri biteye bita :

NSENGIYAREMYE : «Bwana Maritini Bucyana mwana wa mama, dusangiye akarere muri Nduga yaguye, byakubera byiza cyane uvuye muri iriya ngirwashyamba ry'abakiga, rya MRND, rya Habyarimana. Kuho naho waba ushyigikiye ko riharanira inyungu z'abahutu ntabwo twabwwe muri MDR, PSD, n'andi mashyamba yiganjemo abahutu muturusha kubarengera, tuzirikana rwose iryo hame natwe. Ahubwo

iyo CDR yo irabashuka, yashyizeho n'abashakira kugundira ubutegetsi nk'ikirondwe ku mwite aribo bambari ba MRND kandi b'abakiga gusa gusa. Ese ubundi ko abandi bamaraga ku bumunsi imyaka cumi n'irindwi (17) nka Nsekaliye wowe bakujijije iki bakunukiriza MINITRANSCO hanyuma barangiza bakakujugunya mu mfunzo z'i Zaza aho umwana wawe arira nyirakuru na nyirasenge ntibumve. Nyamara unyumviye nagukungahaza ugasigara wicuza igihe cyose watereye mu gaco baguteretsemo. Turagira rwose ngo wibaze kandi mbivuze nkomeje, uriya Jenerali mu kishingikiriye twamuvanyemo ubu ahubwo yabuze aho ahungira aba yarinyarukiye muri aho. Tuzagusanze amashyamba n'impundu, ibicuba by'amata n'imizinga y'ubuki kuko na cyo kirara cyo muri Bibiliya ise na bene wabo bacyakiranye urukundo n'urugwiro.

Kandi ngarutse ku kibazo cy'abatutsi na FPR urabona ko ndi umuhutu uyu nyawe, ntabwo meze nka ba Twagiramungu, uhanira ubuperezida cyangwa kunyambura uyu mwana ndimo, bakemangwa ho kuba barahinduye ubwoko. Nkiri n'umunyeshuri mu Bubiligi nijye na Ngulinzira babeshyera ngo ni umututsi twageturaga tukanasinyisha inyandiko zamaganaga ubwi-

kanyize bw'ubwoko nyamuke tugasaba ko rubanda nyamwinshi (majorité populaire) igizwe n'abahutu ihabwa umugabane uyikwiye mu butegetsi no mu bukungu bw'igihugu.

Nanjye ubwanjye nzi ku mutima ko FPR ariwe mwanzi wa mbere w'abahutu kuko na bariya ba Bizimungu, Kanyarengwe, Lizinde n'abandi bahutu ari udukingirizo two kwereka amahanga ko inkotanyi zitavangura amoko. Nah'ubundi FPR igamije inyungu z'abatutsi gusa. icyakora mujye munyumva umwana ndimo no gushaka kwiteganyiriza iminsi ntibyatuma nerura nkamwe b'abaCDR.

Nzi ko kandi ariye ari undi muhutu wese abaye perezida wa Repubulika inyenzi-inkotanyi (niwowe ariko mbwiye iryo jambo ry'inyenzi mw'ibanga!) zakomeza kurwanya ingoma ye. N'ibi byo kunsabira ububasha burenze ubw'umukuru w'igihugu ni uko zibwira ko mu gihe nkivuga rumwe nazo zaboneraho uburyo bwo guhirika perezida uriho maze buhoro buhoro zikigarurira ubutegetsi bwose. Nkimara no kumva ko zagabye ibindi bitero by'amaraso kandi turi mu mishyikirano nahise nzikuraho umutima kuko ibyo namaganiye ku Kibuye byasubiriye. Ariko nyine twabwwe abafitanye ibibazo na Jenerali harimo abo mu majyepfo y'igihugu bese kuko yatwiciye abantu kandi akaduheza mu mashuri no mu myanya myiza y'ubutegetsi, mbese akatundindiza muri byinshi, twasanze ko dufatanyije na FPR ifite intwari ikanaterwa inkunga ya politiki n'amahanga byarushaho kutworohera kujegeza IKINANI n'akazu kacyo no kugihubaza ku ntebe y'Ubwami cyibwiraga ko cyarazwe n'iyakare. None se wowe ntiwiboneye ko inkotanyi zatitije icyo kigirwamana bigatinda maze tukaba twaracyambuye n'ububasha bwose kiratanaga. Nah'ubundi ushyitse umutima munda : nitumara kugera ku ntego yacu yo kwigarurira ubutegetsi tuzakoma akamo inzogera zigomba kwirenga zirenge. Bavugaga ak'Abagagwe...»

BUCYANA (asubiza) : «Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe sinkurusha ubwenge n'icyubahiro nubwo nkurusha ubukuru nkaba naranagutanzwe kubona izuba muri politiki. Ariko icyo nakumenyesha ni uko mu byo wambwiye byose nta na kimwe gifite ireme. Muri iki gihe cya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi ntabwo wari ukwiye kugira ishyamba ryemewe watambamira ngo ntirivuge, ngo ntirigere ku butegetsi nkaho ari ubukonde cyangwa umurage bya bamwe. CDR si ishyamba ry'akarere, ntabwo riri mu kwaha ukwariko kose, si iry'umuntu ku giti cye. Si uko kandi nkomoka mu majyepfo byatuma nkuyoboka buhumyi cyangwa ngamije indonke iyariyoyose. Kandi udashatse kutubeshya icya Semuhanuka nta kuntu wavugaga ko wowe na ya mashyamba yunze ubumwe n'umwanzi murenge Repubulika mukagamiza n'inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi y'ababwira kandi mubagambanira. Koko nk'amashyamba MDR na PSD abanyarwanda benshi bari bariroshyemo bibwira ko ari PARIMEHUTU (yari yarasheshwe ku maherere na kudeta ya Habyarimana) na APROSOMA y'umurwanashyamba w'ababwira w'imena nyakwigendera Gitera bigarutse akwiye kurindagira peee, kugeza aho ahitamo gufata-

nya n'inzoka Shitani-ntutsi ngo ni ukugira ngo agere ku butegetsi? Ko gishobora se kuzabakora. Nawe ubwawe wivugira ko FPR ari umwanzi, maze se noneho muyirusha ubwenge n'amayeri ku buryo mwazayigaranzukana, yo se irasinziriye? Ese ubwo mwibwira ko ibyo abatutsi bari gukorera Habyarimana kandi yari yarabimakaje bihagije ndetse birenze urugero cyangwa amarorerwa impunzi zimukorera kandi atari we wazimenesheje guhera mu 1959 we akiri ikibondo itariyo nyishyu iziturwa abagishimishijwe no gushyigikira izo nkoramaramaso?

Ntawe rwose utagirana ikibazo n'undi. Nka Murego ntiyamara imyaka cumi n'ibiri (12) mu buroko azira ibitekerezo bye ngo abure kurwanya ubutegetsi bwamufunze. Twagiramungu ntiyabura Sebukwe mu buryo budasobanutse maze ngo yongere kuvugaga rumwe n'uwo yemeza ko abifitemo uruhare. Gatabazi ntiyakwishyizemo ko yashyizwemo akagozi n'abakiga ngo nawe ntababuze amahwemo. N'abanyagitarama ntibakwamburwa ubutegetsi ngo baterere agati mu ryinyo na rindi bakigereka urupfu rw'abanyapolitiki babo kuri Habyarimana na Lizinde, Kanyarengwe, Lizinde, Bi-

zimungu (?) na Biseruka ntibashimurira umutegeko wari kuzababwirako ngo ntibihimure kuwo babona wawuteze. Ibyo rwose byo kwihorera no kwivuna umwanzi biri muri kamere y'umuntu.

Ariko ikidashobora gushyigikirwa no kwihanganirwa n'umunsi n'umwe ni ugushyigikira kurimbura imbagaga y'abantu ngo ni ukugira ngo na wa wundi umwe wanga agwemo kandi utanizeye ko hari icyo azaba. N'ubutegetsi bashakaga kumutsimburaho ashobora kubukomeraho cyangwa kubukomezwaho ahubwo abamurwanyaga bagasigara aribo ruvumwira kuko babyifashemo bucucu na bunyamaswa. Ko ari nta mugabo se twari twumva watwitse inzu ye ngo ni uko yuzuyemo inyenzi cyangwa yinjijwemo n'inshira. Ni ikihe gihangange kw'isi cyananiranye koko; iyo kitavanywe ku ngoma n'amatora muri demokarasi gikurwaho n'izindi ngufu zitamarira rubanda ku masasu cyangwa zitayogozwa igihugu,... kandi no mu Rwanda sizo zibuze. Kandi jye niba unzi neza ntabwo nigeze mu buzima bwanjye ndarikira inyungu zo ku giti cyanjye bwite, mpangayikishwa buri gihe no guharanira no kurengeza iza rubanda nyamwinshi no kubumbatira umutekano wayo. Ngirango turumvikanye». Ndekezi Bonaparte.

INKUBA ZOSE NI KIRIMBUZI

Aho abaJDR biyise inkuba za zindi zo mu kirere nazo zagize ishyamba n'uburakari kuko abana b'abantu bashatse kuzigana. Nibwo zongereye ubumara n'ubukana bwazo ngo zitazahigwa n'abo zita utubwa two kumoka gusa. Mujye mwumva amatangazo abika, nta saha y'ubusa zitagaritse ingogo.

N'abaJDR rero nibakwete bakwete, bakaze umurego kugira ngo badatangwa igihembo cya mbera n'inkuba zisanze zihatanira cyo gutwika, kwasagura no kwica inzira zikarengane. Ariko nabo biyise nabi da, uretse ko ariyo zina ribakwiye koko. Ubusanzwe inkuba zibereye ho guhekura ababyeyi, kugira abana

imfubyi, gukenesha abaturage zibicira amatungo, nta kandi kamaro rubanda ruzitezeho. Inkuba y'ingore yo ngo isya itanzitse, ntisiga ibuye na rimwe ku rindi.

H. Fr-X.

BATAGATIFU ABA MDR BABA-KOZEHO !

Abanyarwanda bari baritabiriyeye kwita abana babo izina «AGATA» kubera ko mukaperezida ariyo nawe yahisemo. None nta n'umwe ukemera kuribatizwa cyangwa kuryita uwe biturutse kumarorerwa n'ubushizi bw'isoni bya Minisitiri Uwilingiyimana «AGATA». Bababazwa n'ako kazina kari keza kapfuye ubusa kibwa n'inshinzi. Ari-

ko se aho abatagatifu benshi MDR ntigiye kubagerera. Dore nka BONIFASI, FAWUSITINI, PASIKARI NA DISIMASI basigaye bamaganirwa kure no mu kiliziya kubera ko inkuba ziyise ayo mazina zarushije Lusofero kubeshya, gutukana, kwiba, gusebanya, gusenya ngo barabohozwa, kwikunda bakanga abandi ndetse no kwica.

NY. F.

NDENGEJEHO NTAZI INYITO Y'AMASHYAKA.

Niba ari ubwinazi, niba ari «malhonnéteté» asanganywe, uwi-twa Ndengejeho Pascal, Minisitiri

w'ltangazabinyoma yumije abantu barimo n'abazungu kubera ko yise CDR «Coalition pour la Défense de la Majorité Populaire». icyakora CDR irwana nyine ku nyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi ariko siyo nyito yayo izwi. Kuva uyu muni Ndengejeho amenye rero ko inyuguti «R» = République.

Ubwo kandi yari abivuze mu mateshwa yatangariye Radiyo y'abafaransa RFI ku wa 9/2/93 igihe atagira isoni zo gushyigikira ibitero by'amaraso bya FPR-Inkotanyi hagati mu mishyikirano. Ngo ubwo yashakaga gusebya MRND na CDR na Perezida wa Repubilika atazi ko ari kwiyangagaza ubwe we

n'ubutegetsi bwose bw'u Rwanda burimo n'ubwa Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yose imbere y'amahanga. Yagombye no gushyikirizwa inkiko kuko yagambaniye igihugu n'imbaga y'abanyarwanda ashyigikira ibikorwa by'umwanzi mu ntambara anafatanyije nawe mu gukwiza ibihuha.

S.J.

«Iyaba ari abatutsi batsinze, nta muhutu uba akiriho» (Perezida Gerigori KAYIBANDA)

Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda, Perezida wa Repubilika ya mbere yarababwiraga ni uko batumvye. Yabwiraga abatutsi ukuri, akabumvisha ko ingoma ya gihake idateze kugaruka mu Rwanda. Abasaba kwima amatwi ababeshya ngo bazatsinda kandi bidashoboka. Nta gihe atasabye abatutsi kuva muri izo nzozi bagafatanyije n'abandi banyarwanda, ariko baranangira. Nimwisomere namwe izo diskuru ebyiri za Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda. Imwe yise "Ubutegetsi ni demokrasi" yavuze ku wa 29 Marsi 1964 yari igenewe inyenzi. N'indi yise "Demokarasi izirana n'urugomo" yavuze ku wa 10 aviril 1964 ireba cyane cyane abategetsi batari icyo demokarasi ari cyo. Ariko cyane cyane abategetsi bigize ibyitso by'inyenzi nka Nsengiyaremye. Demokarasi izirana n'urugomo.

Kangura

I. UBUTEGETSI NI DEMOKARASI.

Bana b'abatutsi,

Mumaze kubona aho u Rwanda runyuzwe guhera cyane cyane muri 1956, ruciye ku kiriba cya Mutara, ruvuye mu mwobo Ndahindurwa yarushyemo. Muzi mutirengagije ibyago u Rwanda rwagize cyane cyane muri novembri 59 no mu ntangiriro z'uwa 60; aribwo Demokarasi yarwanaga n'ubuhake, aribwo gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'abagaragu be baruhaga mu gisimu kibi. Bikabyara impunzi, inyenzi n'intimba n'abapfakazi.

Mwabonye uko twakuye u Rwanda mu gisimu Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa yarutayemo yihungira, tukaruha Demokarasi, n'ubwigenge n'ama-

horu. Murareba ibyo leta ya Repubilika imaze gukora nyuma y'ubuhake, ndetse na nyuma ya Indepandansi: biragaragara, ni byiza. Dukurikiranye ku byuzuzwa.

Mwabonye impagarara tuvuye mu zitewe n'ubukubaganyi n'ubugome bw'impunzi z'inyenzi: abaturage b'i Nyamata barabizi, ab'i Bufundu barabibonye, ni mubishyire k'ubugome bw'akarande buri muri kamere y'ubuhake: Gashaka-buhake n'abagaragu be bahuganye nawe, ntibarareka gucukura igisimu cyabo cyo muri novembri 59. Barabigaragaje ejo bundi.

Babonye na none tubibarinze batura ubundi bugome: baradusebya baratubeshyera mu magazeti ngo twamaze abatutsi mu Rwanda. Cyo nimumbwire mu kuri, iyo guhutu aramukana ubugome bwo gutsemba abatutsi biba byaragombye kugendera ku bitero by'inyenzi? Ubwanyu bamwe ntimubivugira muti: "Iyaba ari abatutsi batsinze nta muhutu uba akiriho keretse uwemeye ingoyi cumi z'ubuhake"? icyo dushaka twakibabwiyemo muri diskuru yacu yo ku wa mbere yuli 1963: Nimuhumukire Demokarasi, mukurikire umuco mushya w'u Rwanda, icyo dushaka n'ubuvandimwe ku baturage bose: Uko muzabidushobokera tuzabatsindisha impuhwe n'umuco mwiza. Nimunanira umuco mwiza muri Demokarasi, ntimuzagire uwo muveba.

Muzi ariko ko Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa na Rukeba n'inyenzi zabo bakifuzaga ko mwamara nkabo: uwagezweho n'ibitero by'i Nyamata ubu mbe se amereye neza? Ubu amereye neza kurusha uko yarameze mbere y'ibyo bitero by'inyenzi? Cyo nimuzirikane mwisubize mutishuka! Bamaze guhimba undi mudeli wo kubaroza muri cya gisimu. Dore uko uteye: babonye

inyenzi zabo ziburiyemo, n'ibisebo badusebya bibize icyo bifata, bahimba kuzajya baboherezamo ubwandiko bwa rwishyamba: bababwiramo ngo: "bazatsinda", ngo nimushyire hamwe, ngo intego bafite bazazigeraho".

Intego ya gashaka-buhake n'inyenzi ni iyo kubateranya n'igihugu cyahisemo Demokarasi: ni iyo kubagumisha mu bututsi (muzi icyo bivugaga mu Kinyarwanda gikuru); ni iyo kubagira abagome mu gihugu: kuko umuturage wizera Gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa ho umwami aba agomera Repubilika. Ubwo bwandiko mujye mubujugunya cyangwa mubuzanire abategetsi ba Repubilika. Naho ubundi nabwo bwazabagera aho ibitero by'inyenzi byageze bamwe.

Icyo duharanira n'ubuvandimwe nyabwo mu banyarwanda bose n'amajyambere ya demokarasi ku baturage bose ba Repubilika. Nab'impunzi nta gihe tutababwiyemo ko bashatse kugaruka bagaruka, bapfa gusa gufasha intwari hasi no kureka amatiku n'urugomo n'ubuhake. Twarabibabwiyemo tweruye mu matangazo menshi twavuze yerekeye iby'impunzi n'ubugome bw'inyenzi. Ejo bundi twanazisobanuriye ko zifasha abadindiza amajyambere y'Afrika yigenga. Siniriwe mbasubiriramo, bana b'abatutsi, ko ubuhake bwashize, ko ubwami bugenda bushiraho ku isi yose, ko demokarasi ariyo ntego y'Afrika yigenga n'iy'isi yose, ko gukoresha kurwana ari ubucucu no kuva kera; ndagira ngo gusa mwirinde uriya mudeli mushya wa gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze: ubwandiko bwabo bwa rwishyamba burabaganisha mu rwobo twari tumaze gukuramo abemeye demokarasi. Se uwaburirira? Ubwandiko gashaka-buhake Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze babasesezamo rwishyamba ni wa mudeli wo ku Rucunshu, ni ya-

genda turakize, ni babandi batwikaga babanje gushemba ibishangara, ni ya maso ya Kayijuka, ni ya nkota ya Nyirarukeba, ni cya gisimu cya novembri 59, twakibakuyemo, barashaka ko mugiburamo.

Iyo mvuga kibyezi sinkikira amagambo; niwo muco w'umubyeyi w'igihugu muri demokrasi. Ndashaka ubuvandimwe bwa gahutu na gatwa na gatutsi n'abandi bose batuye u Rwanda. Ubwo bwandiko babasesezamo rwihishwa, ba gacumbabuhake Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze, bufatanye n'ibinyoma bakwiza hirya no hino bizabagwa nabi. Hari naho bagiye gukwiza impuha mu bakuru ba Kiliziya gatorika b'i Roma, ngo leta y'u Rwanda yabambye Musenyeri Bigirumwami ku musaraba, ngo umuhutu wese ubonye umwanya akajya kumujomba igikwasi? Ngo leta ya Republika yishe Padiri Gasore, ngo itsinda Padiri Kagame kuri Alitari! Mwese ntimubona abo banyacyubahiro hirya no hino bidagadurira mu mirimo yabo? Ndetse turabifuriza gukomeza gukora imirimo ya Kiliziya y'Imana. Ngubwo bwa burozi na cya gisimu cyo muri 59. Ngibyo ibiri ku ruhande rw'inyuma ha bwa bwandiko babasesezamo rwihishwa.

Naho ku byerekeye ukwemeradini kw'Abategetsi b'ingeri zose dufata kuyobora u Rwanda, gacumbabuhake Yohani Baptista Ndahindurwa n'inyenzi ze barata igihe cyabo, nti-twemejwe no kuneza abazungu cyangwa gusangira nabo. Tuzi icyo twemeye, n'aho cyitaruriye ibyo gutwara isi. Ntabwo ukwemera kwacu twakugurana ibicumucumu byo gutera i Nyamata, cyangwa ngo tugushake mu bazungu b'ingegera z'ababuramana nka ka Vullemin katorotse i Butare kamaze gusanga kashutswe n'inyenzi kuvuga impuha. Sinabura kwibutsa abana b'abatutsi bahisemo amadini y'ubuprotetanti ko idini yanyu itagomba kuba igikoresheho cya politiki ya metropole zo hirya amadini yanyu ako-mokamo: byongeye ubwanyu muzi uko Gahutu afashwe mu by'ubutegetsi bwo hejuru bw'amadini yanyu.

Ab'abaswahili muzi ko inama n'amateraniro yanyu ubutegetsi butigeze buyahungabanyaye iyo atica amahoro rusange y'abaturage. Muzi ko nanjye ubwanjye, hamwe n'abakozi ba leta batari abayisumu, nagiye nza kwizihiza iminsi mikuru isoza Ramadhan yanyu. Uwumvira amategeko ya Republika aba ari mu nzira nziza: ni

umwana w'igihugu nk'abandi bose. Mwese ari abagatolika, ari abaprotetanti, ari abayisumu, ari n'abandi muzi ko Konstitusiyi ya Republika ntawe iheza kubera idini yemeye. Mwibishukirwamo rero ngo mwakire ubwandiko rwihishwa bwoherejwe kubaroha. Nimurebe u Rwanda aho rugeze, murebe Afrika yose aho igana, mwemere demokrasi, muyikunde, muyirwanire ishyamba, mukoresheje amahoro mwibuke ko gukoresha kurwana ari ubucucu kandi byerekana ko nyirabyo nta kuri afite.

Twacyiye ubucancuro mu butegetsi n'urugomo mu baturage: nguwo umurongo Gahutu na Gatwa na Gatutsi mugomba gukurikira mwese. Turashaka ubuvandimwe n'ubwishyir'ukizana wumvira amategeko ya demokrasi, turashaka ubwira mu mirimo n'ubwitange ku murimo ukorera igihugu; nguwo umurongo Gahutu na Gatwa na Gatutsi mugomba gukurikira mwese. Bana b'abatutsi, ndababwira mu magambo make ibyerekeye uriya muderu mushya n'ubwandiko gacumbabuhake n'inyenzi ze babasesezamo. Abaguye mu gisimu cyacukuwe na Gacumbabuhake barimo ibice bitatu:

1. Abazahitamo bakishakira gutura mu bihugu barimo, nibatureye, bagwire, bagire Imana, isi yose n'iya twese.

2. Abazahuka kurwana (barwanisha imbunda, imiheto, ubwandiko rwihishwa, gusebya no kubeshyera leta y'u Rwanda) bazahura n'ubutwari bwa Garde Nationale ariyo basirikare b'u Rwanda: uri inyuma y'igihugu aba ari inyuma, kandi gutera intambara ni ubucucu.

3. Abazahora bishakira amahoro, no kugaruka mu mahoro, muzabakira, abaturage mwese mubafashe kwicara neza muri demokrasi.

Naho mwebwe muri mu gihugu nimuhumure: abagihumye bahumuke bemere demokrasi kuko ariyo Afrika igamije. abahumutse, nimuhumure, turabashima, musigaye umurimo wo kudufasha guhumuriza abo bandi, mubumvisha ko ubuhake na cyami byazigurutswe kera. Bamwe muri mwe bari mu mirimo ya leta, nimwitange mushinzwe n'abakoreshe: ni ukuvuga abakuru banyu na rubanda, icyo mubona ko kitaratungana mukivuge kuko turi muri demokrasi. Turi abanyarwanda twese ariko sinshaka ko ab'abatutsi bananira ubuvandimwe.

Kigali, ku wa 29 marsi 1964
Prezida wa Republika y'u Rwanda
Gr. KAYIBANDA
Sé



II. DEMOKARASI IZIRANA N'URUGOMO

Banyarwanda mwese,
Baturage b'u Rwanda mwese,

Ku itariki ya 28 Yanwari naba-bwiye ko Republika yacu mu ntego zayo z'ibanze, iya mbere ari amahoro mu baturage n'ibice byose n'inzezo zose. Nababwiraga ukuntu ayo mahoro twari tumazemo umwaka n'igice, cyane cyane guhera kuri Indepandansi yaramaze gukangwa n'impunzi zigize inyenzi zarateye Leta ibarwaho mwese, ariko cyane cyane ibuza utahawe ububasha bwo kugenza icyaha kugira icyo yivangamo.

Turashimira ko igihugu cyatwumviye, gahutu agakomeza gushaka amahoro. Abahawe ububasha bwo kugenza icyaha, ububasha bwa gipolisi, abafite umurimo w'ubusoda, abo bakozi b'igihugu bese turabashima ko bihatiye kurangiriza igihugu umurimo bahawe kugikorera. Ndashima umuturage utuririyeye k'ubushotore bw'inyenzi ngo agwe mu muco mubi w'urugomo. Ku wa 28 Yanwari nabubukije ko demokrasi izirana n'umuco w'urugomo. Nimukomeze mwese mu nzira nziza yo kurinda demokrasi yacu: demokrasi izira urugomo. Ububasha buriho: hari abashinga amategeko, hari abayubahiriza n'abacamanza, n'abakozi b'igihugu bafasha abo bayobozi ba demokrasi bese. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abaturage bese, ari gahutu, gatwa na gatusi na ba Kanyamahanga u Rwanda rwugururiye. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abakozi bese b'igihugu iyo bava bakagera, abato n'abakuru.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abategeko bese, ubutegetsi babuherewe kurinda amahoro no kubwiriza abaturage bese inzira zizamurira umukiro w'igihugu, wa za Komini, w'ingo zose z'abaturage. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: n'iyi urwo rugomo rwatwikirizwa uburyarya busa

n'ubwa kera. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: n'iyi mpamvu umuturage wese, n'iyi yabamutoya cyane, agiriwe urugomo agomba kubigeza ku barinzi b'amahoro bari hafi ye. ari abategetsi, ari abacamanza. Abategetsi bese bagomba kumenya amahoro no guca urugomo bakurikiza amategeko n'umuco mwiza usanzwe. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: kuko urugomo n'imvururu bihagarika amajyambere y'imirimu n'ay'ingo zanyu, urugomo n'imvururu ni umwanda mu bihugu byose, n'uwo byaturukaho wese, n'iyi babitwikiriza uburyarya, mwabonye abateye imvururu n'urugomo muri 59, aho byabataye: bizeye gutsindisha urugomo, imvururu n'uburyarya, basanga twese turi maso, ariko twanga urugomo.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaribwira abarwanashyaka b'amapariye yose ari mu gihugu. Bagomba kugira amahoro mu ishyamba ryabo: naho ubundi ntabwo igihugu na leta ya Republika byaryemeramo ishyamba nyaryo. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: iryo jambo ndaryibutsa inama zose, ari iza Parti, ari iza Komini, ari iz'abategetsi bakoresha abaturage, ari Inteko Nkuru, ari Inama ya leta. Izisendereyemo ishyamba ry'amahoro niziye mu zindi. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: mubukire no mpu bukene, cyane iyo igihugu nk'icyacu kimirije imbere gushaka ibyakizamura. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: umunyamahoro akwiriye kububahirwa, umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu amenye ko afasha inyenzi, cyangwa ko ari icyitso cyazo: umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu amenye ko aba abereye inyenzi icyitso n'inziira. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: umunyarugomo n'umunyamvururu : aje aregera abategetsi nabo babisuzume, nibasanga ari ukuri abihanirwe bakurikiza amategeko agenga umuco afatiwemo.

Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: utinye kuregera abategetsi aba atarumva demokrasi. Ariko hariho no kurega by'urugomo: kurega ibitari byo ari ukubeshyera undi, cyangwa ari ugucumba amahari n'inzangano. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: igihe haba

umuturage ucumbeta amahari n'inzangano, aba atakaza umwanya wo gukorera igihugu, wo gukorera urugo rwe, wo kungura demokrasi muri Republika: aba yigira icyitso cy'inyangarwanda z'inyenzi. Ntihakagire uwita undi inyenzi kuko ari igitutsi: namubona ubunyenzi nabyereke abategetsi bagenewe kubisuzuma maze yisubirire ku murimo we. Demokrasi izirana n'urugomo: mumaze kumva mwese ko inyenzi ari icyo zikurikiranye mu bitero byazo: kuko urugomo n'imvururu byica igihe cy'amajyambere y'igihugu n'abaturage bacyo. Banyarwanda mwese, mbibukije iyo ngingo kuko muri demokrasi amahoro ku baturage bese ari ingingo y'amajyambere igomba kwitabwaho. Kwirinda urugomo n'imvururu ni itegeko ku muturage wese, ari umuto ari umukuru, ari umutegetsi ari n'utari we. Nta gihe mutabwiye abacamanza bese kugira umwaga cyane cyane kuri iyo ngingo ikomeye yo kuremya amahoro mu baturage. Nta gahato leta yashyizeho ngo umuntu abe mu iparti iyi n'iyi: icya ngombwa kuri bese ni ukoroherana, kwemera no gukurikiza amategeko; gutangaza mu kuri ikidatunganye, kuboneza programu igiye muri demokrasi, ariko akanga amahoro, nta kureba parti arimo agomba kubihanirwa, kuko guhunga urugomo n'imvururu ari itegeko ku muturage wese.

Ndashimira cyane abategetsi bese n'abaturage bese bihatiye kurwanya urugomo igihugu cyatewemo n'ibitero by'inyenzi, ndashima umunyarwanashyaka wese wahagurukiye kuremya amahoro nta rugomo, nta mvururu, anyuze mu nzira y'amategeko y'igihugu. Umunyarugomo wese n'umunyamvururu arafasha ubugome n'uburyarya bw'inyenzi atabizi. Nimukomeze amajyambere ya Republika n'ay'ingo zanyu, muhorane n'amahoro y'Imana.

Kigali, ku wa 10 avril 1964
Prezida wa Republika
Gr. KAYIBANDA
Sé

Tube maso kuko imishyikirano y' Arusha ishobora kudasubiza ku ngoyi ya gihake twari twarasezereye muri 1959.

Abanyarwanda twese dushigiye imishyikirano y' Arusha ariko twanwe akagambane k'amashaka amwamwe yagambaniye abanyarwa-

nda twese, agamije inyungu zayo bwite. Ntibyumvikana ukuntu mu Rwanda hari amashaka 16, ushizeho irya FPR yose akaba 17 ariko amashaka ari muri

Guverinoma yaja guhagararira abitwa abanyarwanda twese, kandi twese tukaba twibumbiye muri aya mashaka 17 yose, ariya mashaka rero ari muri guve-

rinoma yari akwiye kumenya ko atari yo mashaka yonyine ari mu Rwanda. Kandi ko mu gihe hatarabaho amatora nta shaka na rimwe riruta ayandi. Mu isaranganya rero ry'inyanya ya guverinoma y'inziba cyuho ntiha gombaye gushira ayandi inyuma, hari ibijya bitangaza rero nk'iyi numvise abakuru b'amashaka amwamwe nka MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, bavuga ngo abanyarwanda twese tureshya kandi ngo nta munyarwanda ugomba gukumira uwundi mu butegetsi bw'igihugu cy'e, mbese mbibarize, abanyarwanda n'abari muri MDR, PSD, PL, PDC gusa? Mbese abandi tutari muri ayo mashaka turapfa iki?

Kuva ubu mumenye ko abanyarwanda twese tutari muri ayo mashaka yanyu gusa ahubwo turi no muri ariya mashaka yose yandi uko ari 17. Niba bitabaye bityo nabwo nihabeho guverinoma ihuriweho n'aya mahuriro y'amashaka twese dusanzwe tuzi MDR, PL PSD, FPR, PDC, mu ihuriro rimwe nk'uko amasezerano yanyu mwagiranye i Bruseri mu Bubiligi

abyemeza. Urundi ruhande rwa kabiri, MRND, CDR, PECO, PARERWA, PA-DER, ubwo nibwo muzaba mwese kandi nye ko muhanganira amahoro y'abaturarwanda twese, ariko n'ayandi mashaka atari muri ayo mahuriro abiri mvuze aho haruguru, ntiyokwibagirana mu zindi nzego z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Reka iyi ntambara turwana n'inyenzi nkotanyi imare imyaka ingana icya, inyenzi nkotanyi zabanje gushaka ibyitso byinshi cane, zigeze n'aho zifatira MDR, PSD, PL, PDC. Ubundi Habyarimana nawe igihe amenyeye ko ariya mashaka mvuze aho haruguru amaze guhana amasezerano y'ubufatane i Buruseri ntiyagomba gutuma iriya guverinoma ija kubesha ngo ihagarariye u Rwanda muri iriya mishikirano kuko nkuko Banyaga yigeze kubivuga mu rwandiko yarungikiye abanyarwanda.

Niba rero Habyarimana atabona urwobo ashaka kuturohamo yakwegura hakiri kare niba adahagaritse iriya guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye hakiri kare. Hakwiriye kujaho indi guverinoma ariyo yagirana imishikirano na FPR

n'ariya mashaka yagiranye amasezerano nayo kandi iyo guverinoma igomba kuba iyobowe n'ishaka CDR. Kuko nk'uko bimaze kugaragara ko FPR yanka urunuka CDR, ibyo bikaba byaragaragaye aho FPR yanka ko CDR ija muri guverinoma. Ni ngombwa ko CDR yohura na FPR kuko ubwiyunge buba hagati y'abashamiranye aribo batutsi n'abahutu.

(NDLR: Iyi nyandiko twayoherejwe n'umunyarwanda w'umuhutu uba i Bujumbura mu Burundi. Ntimutanga ngazwe rero n'uko harimo amagambo amwe n'amwe y'i Kirundi. Uwo muhutu amaze igihe kirekire muri icyo gihugu kimwe n'abandi bahutu b'abanyarwanda batari bake, bagiye gutera inkunga bagenzi babo b'abahutu b'i Burundi kugira ngo bigobotore ingoyi y'abatutsi. Nibakomere ku rugamba, ni aho mu kwa gatandatu uyu mwaka dusezereye Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo).

Kuki abahutu batumva ko umwanzi wabo ari umwe ?

Mu gihe guverinoma y'u Rwanda irimo kurindagira mu mishyikirano ihujwe intumwa z'u Rwanda n'iza FPR-Inkotanyi mu mugwi wa Arusha muri Tanzaniya, inyenzi-nkotanyi zo zifitiye undi mugambi. Nk'uko zabyerekanye zigitera tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, inyenzi zifite umugambi wo gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu kandi uwo mugambi ziracyawukomeyeho.

Iby'imishyikirano ibera Arusha (niba koko twayita imishyikirano) biratwibutsa uko Museveni n'inkotanyi (NRA) ze, yafashe Kampala, Tito Okello arindagira i Nairobi. Ntitugomba kwishyamba amahanga. Imishyikirano siyo yatubuze kwirwanaho kuko byagaragaye ko ibihugu byinshi inyeshyamba zabifashe mpiri bene byo basinziriye ngo barashyikirana nazo. Tito Okello (Uganda), Mengistu (Ethiopia), Hissein Habré (Tchad), Siad Bare (Somaliya) n'abandi tutiriwe turondora, ntabwo bari biyanze. Natwe nitureba nabi, inyenzi ziradufata bukwere! Nawe se wasobanura ute ukuntu mu gihe imishyikirano y'Arusha yitwaga ko yari igeze mu cyiciro cya nyuma, inkotanyi zayirengaho zigakomeza kugaba ibitero? Ubwo kandi icyo cyiciro cya nyuma cy'iyi mishyikirano nicyo cya-

gombaga gusuzuma ukuntu inyenzi-nkotanyi zakwinjizwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda n'ukuntu impunzi z'inyenzi zatahuka, aho kugira ngo zigwe rwantambi. Erega n'ubundi babivuze neza ngo ubugiraneza bw'inkware bwayigongze ijosi!

Inkotanyi zo nyamara uwo mukino siwo zirimo. Umugabo twatanga ni igitero zagabye mu Ruhengeri na Byumba tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993. Ibyo bitere byaje bikurikiye imvururu inyenzi n'ibitso byazo nka Nsengiyaremye bari bamaze iminsi bateje mu gihugu. Iyo tuvuye ko abahutu bagomba kumva ko umwanzi wabo ari umwe, (inyenzi), abo tubwira mbere na mbere ni abahutu, n'abandi bakunda igihugu cyabo kuko barahari n'ubwo ari bake. Kuba duherereye ku bahutu, si uko aribo icyo kibazo kireba kurusha abandi. Abafaransa iyo bashakira kuvuga ko umuntu atareba kure bavuga ko kanaka "atareba kure kurenza izuru rye". Mu gifaransa bavuga ngo "(un tel) ne regarde (voit) pas loin que son nez". Ntaho bihuriye n'amazuru manini y'abahutu nk'uko bamwe babitekerezaga. Ahubwo mu Kinyarwanda niho babivuze neza ngo inda nini y'abahutu niyo izabakoraho. Kandi koko niyo iza-bakoraho.

Inyenzi zongera kwigabiza umugi wa Ruhengeri n'uturere tumwe na tumwe twa Byumba tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, twatangajwe cyane n'imyifatire y'abakuru b'amashyamba amwe n'amwe mu gihugu. Iyo igihugu gitewe kuba cyatewe, abaturage bose baratabara, ingabo zabo zibarangoje imbere. Mu gihe abasirikari (abana bacu, barumuna bacu, bakuru bacu), bababari ku rugamba baturengera, ngo abanyapolitiki, abenshi bahindutse ibisahiranda, birirwa bakoranga ngo kanaka na kanaka (nta gihamba) nibo bashoza imvururu. None se inkotanyi nizo zirimo gushakira amahoro. Kurasa abanyarwanda se niko guhosha imvururu ibyitso byazo byateye? Ikibabaje ni uko abarwanashyamba bashyigikiye ingabo zacu muri iki gihe basigaye ari bake. Tutabeshye keretse ahari impuzamugambi za CDR n'interahamwe za MRND (ukuyemo abatutsi b'ibitso). None se warwana ishyamba ute utanga igihugu cyawe?

Twibarize abahutu bo muri MDR, PSD n'abandi, niba Twagiramungu yaravanyemo aye, Nsengiyaremye aye, Ngurinzira aye, Gatabazi aye, niko inkuba mwese n'abakombozi amakotanyi yabagezeho! Bo bafite kontaro

bagiranye n'inkotanyi, bagomba kuyuzuzwa. Uretse ko nabo ari inda nini zabo zibakoresha naho ubundi bagombye kugira isoni z'ibyo bakora Gatabazi ni umuzambiye (Butare) Twagiramungu we ni umunyekongo (uretse ko abeshya ngo ni umunya-cyangugu), bombi bakaba ari n'ibisambo kabuhariwe. Ariko se Ngurinzira, kuba igisambo byo nibyo, ibyo ari byo byose, sibyo byatuma ashumuriza bene nyina inkotanyi ngo zibamarire ku icumu dore ko n'aho avukamuri Butaro zahagaruriye kera. Ikindi dukwiye kumenya ni uko inkotanyi ziramutse zifashe iki gihugu, ntakuvangura umu hutu w'i Gitarama, Butare, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi, cyangwa se Byumba. Abahu-

tu bese ni mu kagozi. Abanyabyumba na Ruhengeri nibo babizi kurusha abandi. Abatutsi bo ntawabishinga, kuko wenda bavugaga ko ari bene wabo batahutse, "abana" bagarutse iwabo. Nabo ariko bari bakwiye kuzirikana ko inyenzi nizikomeza gushotora abahutu, uwo muteto uzahita urangira, abahutu bamaze kurakara.

Ko inda nini z'abahutu zizabakoraho koko! Tugeze aho duterwa. Radiyo Rwanda, Radiyo y'igihugu, igatinyakuvugako twatwewe n'inyenzi! Ngo ni abasirikare ba FPR bahangana n'abaguverinoma y'u Rwanda. Iyo Radio Rwanda ivugaga ko inyenzi zateye yari kuba iki? Twavugaga ko yahindutse Ra-

diyo Muhabura ngo ni aya Kangura

Twagiramungu niwe wigeze gusetsa rubanda ngo ya mashyaka akorana n'inyenzi (MDR, PSD, PL) yasinye i Bruseri n'inkotanyi ntiyasinye n'inyenzi. Impuzamugambi, Simbizi Stanislas imureba mu gihorihori iramubizi itari Uko ushaka! Ubundi se koko inkotanyi n'inyenzi zitanyeye he?

Kangura

CYANGUGU :

TWAGIRAMUNGU YAMARIYE URUBYIRUKO MU NKOTANYI.

Hejuru y'inkunga itubutse y'amafaranga Twagiramungu Faustin yakusanyije mu bacuruzi bamwe na bamwe bari mu mashyaka yabanguriye ku Nkotanyi, uwo mugabo akomeje kurarura urubyiruko rwo muri Perefegitura ya Cyangugu arushora mu Nkotanyi. Ibyo abashukisha ni byinshi : bamwe ababeshya ko inkotanyi zizabashakira akazi mu mahanga, abandi akabaha amafaranga, abandi akabizeza amashuri.

Ayo mazina akurikira ni ay'abana n'imiryango yabo bacikiye mu Nkotanyi bararuwe na Twagiramungu. Banyacyangugu ngabo abazabamarisha urusasu. Nimukurikize inama Minisitiri w'intebe yabagiriye yo kwirwanaho kuko inzego zishinzwe kubarinda zisa n'izadohotse. Kangura izakomeza kubagezaho ukuntu urubyiruko rw'abatutsi rugenda buri muni mu nkotanyi. Ni ngombwa ko abaturage babwizwa ukuri ku bitero by'inyenzi. Abantu bese baba bazi andi mazina y'abantu bakomeje kujya mu nyenzi batwunganira. Umusazi aravugaga

akagwa ku ijamba. Kangura irashimira Nsengiyaremye kubera ya disikuru ye yavuze (bimuvuye ku mutima), asaba abaturage kwirwanaho. Nakomereze aho uretse ko inkotanyi zizabimubaza kuko yatengushye umugambi yari afitanye nazo. Dutegereje icyo azatangaza ku bitero by'inkotanyi mu Ruhengeri na Byumba. Dore ko Radiyo y'Ubufaransa yumvikaniye i Kigali, tariki ya 9 Gashyantare 1993 yemeje ko Nsengiyaremye yari azi neza ibya buriya bitero.

Kangura.

Lisiti y'abagiye mu nkotanyi :

Commune GISUMA :

AMAZINA	IZINA RYA SE	IZINA RYA NYINA	SELIRE	SEGITERI
1. KABAHIZI Célestin	KABAHIZI Sémph.	MUKANDEKEZI	Karambo	Shagasha
2. KAYIRANGA	BIGIRIMANA	NYIRAMPAKANIYE	Karambo	Shagasha
3. SAGATWA	SEKIGWARI	NYIRANTAMA	Nyagatare	Shagasha
4. NKURUNZIZA Narc.	RWATANGABO	IYAMUBONYE	Nyagatare	Shagasha
5. NYIRAHIRWA	SEKARAHENYE	NYIRAMUJYAMBERE	Nyagatare	Shagasha
6. BUREGEYA Martin	RUSELI Gaston	MUKAMUGOBOKA	Kanoga	Shagasha
7. NAKANONKO	MUSAMBI	NYIRAMAKOMA	Shagasha	Shagasha
8. RUBANZA Bruno	NYANDWI Well.	MUKARUHARA	Gitwa	Isha
9. NKURUNZIZA Gr.	KAJANGWE Déo	NYIRAMUHIGO	Kamashangi	Isha
10. RUGAMBWA Léon	HATEGEKIMANA J.	MUKANGANGO J.	Gahurubuka	Isha
11. NKURUNZIZA Egide	KAGANDA Claudien	MUKANKUSI	Kigenge	Isha
12. KARAMIRA Berch.	KAREMERA	MUKANKUNDIYE	Kigenge	Isha
13. RUTAYISIRE Emm.	MUHUTU	NYIRABATUNZI	Kamashangi	Isha
14. HABIMANA Yuvensi	KAGABO Vénuste	NYIRAMUCYO	Kamashangi	Isha
15. SINANGABATWARE	SEBATWARE	MUKAKABUTENI	Kamashangi	Isha

16. MBYAYINGABO L.	MUREKEZI D.	NYIRARWIMO	Kamashangi	Isha
17. KALISA Védaste	NDAZITATIYE	MUKANGABONZIZA	Karora	Giheke
18. MUZIRAGUHUNGA V.	RUVUZAMABANO	NYIRAMUTARUTWA	Karora	Giheke
19. NKERAGUTABARA	—	MUKAMPIRWA	Karora	Giheke
20. KAREMERA V.	NTAKAZARIMARA	MUKARUGOMOKA	Karora	Giheke
21. NZEYINGORO Fr.	RUZINDANA	NYIRABAGWIZA	Cyendajuru	Giheke
22. NTAKIRUTIMANA	FATAKANWA	MUKANYANGEZI	Karora	Giheke
23. RWASIBO J.	SEZIBERA	MURUNGINAYO	Murambi	Giheke
24. GATERA Théophile	KAYITARE Thacien	MUKANDORI	Gashwati	Bumazi
25. KABERA Tharcisse	NTAMBABAZI	MUKANDAMAGE	Kanazi	Rusambu
26. RWIGARA	GASIGWA	NAKURE	Remera	Remera
27. Nsengiyumva—Biregeya	GASIGWA	NAKURE	Remera	Remera
28. KAYITARE	FATAKE	IZABIRIZA	Kigaga	Mwito
29. NKUNDABAGENZI	MUNYAKAYANZA	MUKARUKAKA	Kigaga	Mwito
30. SIBOMANA	SEBUDAKARABA	MUKAMUGENZI	Kigaga	Mwito
31. BIMENYIMANA Jean	MAREKABIRI	MUKANDUTIYE	Kigaga	Mwito
32. RUTAYISIRE Déo	MARAMUKE N.	NYIRABAKAMISHA	Gasheke	Biguzi
33. TWAGIRAYEZU Emm.	HUKU Dominique	NYIRANDUHURA	—	Gashirabwoba
34. RWAGACONDO Th.	HATEGEKA L.	NYIRARUGOMOKA	Ruhinga	Gashirabwoba
35. KAYITERA Félix	MUDAKIKWA V.	MUKARUKORO	Ruhinga	Gashirabwoba
36. KAGERUKA Alph.	KANYANKORE	BANAMWANA	Ruhinamavi	Gashirabwoba
37. NIYIBIZI Félix	NZOGIROSHYA	—	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
38. SIBOMANA	KANYEMBARI	MUKANDEKEZI	Kagatamu	Gashirabwoba
39. NKURIYINGOMA	SEMANYENZI	—	Ruginga	Gashirabwoba
40. GATETE	KAGIGIRA Tr.	KAMPIRWA Ansil.	Gashirabwoba	Gashirabwoba
41. SIBOMANA Valens	KANYEMERA Ch.	MUKANKWAYA	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
42. BAKAREKE Th.	KAVUBI Juvénal	NYIRAMAJYAMBERE	Gakwisi	Gashirabwoba
43. NSENGIMANA V.	SEBARWANYI P.	MUKARETA	KAGATAMU	Gashirabwoba
44. KARANGWA Silas	MUNYANKINDI I.	MUKARURANGWA	Gasura	Gashirabwoba
45. KAYIRANGA	KANYANKORE V.	BANAMWANA	Ruhinamavi	Gashirabwoba
46. BUKOMBE Damien	MANGWETE Emm.	NYIRARUKARA	Kamuhaza	Munyove
47. NKUNDABAGENZI	MANGWETE Emm.	NYIRARUKARA	Kamuhaza	Munyove
48. UWANKUNZE Emm.	MUSIRIKA	MUKANYANGEZI	Kamuhaza	Munyove
49. NIYONZIMA	NDABAHIMYE	MUKARUGOMOKA	Kamuhaza	Munyove
50. UMURISA Désiré	SEBUHURA In.	MUSABENDE	Kamuhaza	Munyove
51. BUCYANA J.M.V.	RUGAMIKO	KANDAMAGE	Impala	Munyove
52. SINDAYIGAYA	MUGARURA Zach.	—	Impala	Munyove
53. KABERA	NYIRINKINDI	KAMUGURWA	Impala	Munyove
54. VALENS	NDINDABAHIZI	KAMUGURWA	Munyove	Munyove
55. KAYITERA Alphonse	GASHATI	MUKAMUNANA	Rwinkwavu	Munyove
56. HARINDINTWARI	RUTEBUKA	N.HATEGEKIMANA	Turambi	Munyove
57. KALISA	HAVUGIMANA D.	NYIRABAGIRISHYA	Turambi	Munyove
58. NZARUGANURA Jean	IYAMUREMYE Cl.	NYIRAKUREBA	Rwega	Munyove
59. HABİYAMBERE J.P.	HABİYAMBERE A.	—	Kamuhaza	Munyove
60. NTEZUMUREMYI Roger	—	MUKANKURANKA	Mucuzi	Bushenge
61. HABARUGIRA Marc	GASHUGI Gratien	KANYANJA Joséphine	Gasumo	Bushenge
62. KABANDANA Anicet	KAJEGUHAKWA	KAMAGAJU	Kanazi	Rusambu
63. UYISABYE Pierre	RWIZIHIRWA Fr.	NYIRAMASANDUKU	Ryakigaju	Rusambu
64. MURENZI Eustache	RINDIRO Théodore	NYIRABAKUNGU	Kigenge	Isha
65. KARANGWA Félix	KAREMERA V.	MUKANKUNDIYE	Kigenge	Isha
66. SIBOMANA Bosco	SEBUDAKARABA	MUKAMUGENZI	—	Mwito
67. KAYITARE G.	FATAKE A.	IZABIRIZA	—	Mwito
68. BIMENYIMANA Jean	MAREKABIRI	MUKANDUTIYE	—	Mwito
69. NKUNDABAGENZI	MUNYAKAYANZA	MUKARUKAKA	—	Mwito
70. HABYARIMANA A.	NTAMBABAZI	MUKANDAMAGE	Kanazi	Rusambu
71. UZABAKIRIHO Emm.	MUHORANDE	MUKAMURIGO	Kanazi	Rusambu
72. HARERIMANA Th.	GATAMOBWA	NYIRABUJANGWE	—	Gashirabwoba
73. SENTORE	MAGEZA	—	—	Gashirabwoba
74. RUTAGAMBWA Oscar	HATEGEKIMANA	M.RUHIGIRA Th.	Kamashangi	Isha

75. RUZINDANA	BIPFUKO	MUKABAZOZA	—	Gashirabwoba
76. SINGIRANKABO	KAMENDE	BAMPIRE	—	Mwito
77. SIBOMANA	KAGENZA	—	—	Mwito
78. BUKOMBE Afrodis	BUKOMBE	MUKARUTEBUKA	—	Mwito
79. HATEGEKIMANA Jean	MUNYANGABE	NYIRAHABIYAMBERE	—	Mwito
80. NKUSI Viateur	NSANZURWIMO S.	NYIRAFUKU	—	Bugungu
81. NSENGIYUMVA Evariste	TWAGIRAMUNGU	MWIHONGE	—	Bugungu
82. JEAN	TWAGIRAMUNGU	MWIHONGE	—	Bugungu
83. RWABIGWI Félix	RUZINDANA	MUKANDUTIYE	—	Remera
84. NYAMINANI	MAFUREBO	NYIRAGUKURA	—	Remera
85. IYAKAREMYE Jacques	RUHARA	NYIRANEZA	—	Remera
86. KATABARWA Th.	NGABOYIBWAMI	UMUHOZA	—	Remera
87. NDAGIJIMANA Gaspard	MUNYANDENZI	KANGABO	—	Remera
88. SILIRO	MPAKANIYE	—	Buganza	Ruhoko
89. TURATIMANA	MBARUBUKEYE	—	Rusayo	Gashonga
90. MURENZI	MUNYANGEYO	—	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
91. VICTOR	NKUNDANYIRAZO	—	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
92. JEAN	NDAZIRAMIYE	—	Kanyiramukina	Gashonga
93. RUGIRA Léo	NDABAGAYE Fr.	N.MANNYWA	Busekera	Gisagara
94. KARIMUMVUMBA Innocent	RUZIGAMANZI R.	—	Busekera	Gisagara
95. RUKERIKIBAYE	SEBAHARA Bernard	—	Muti	Gisagara
96. MUKESHIMANA Théodor	GATERA Victor	M.NTAGARA	—	Gashonga
97. NSENGUMUREMYI Anaclet	NIYITEGEKA Em.	UWANKWERA	—	Gashonga
98. NKUNZIYINGOMA Théodore	KAMANURA	KANKINDI	—	Gashonga
99. RUSESABAHIZI Aloys	RWABAHIZI	N.NDAYAMBAJE	—	Gashonga
100. AKAYEZU Gervais	RUGIRABABIRI	N.MUGISHA	—	Gashonga
101. NGENDAMANYOVU Charles	MBANZAGUKEBA	N.MUJYAMBERE	—	Ntenyi
102. NTABWABO J. Baptiste	NIYIBIZI Théon.	UZAMUSHAKA	—	Gashonga

COMMUNE CYIMBOGO.

103. NZEYIMANA Th.	SUSA	MADAMU	Kabaha	Mibilizi
104. KAYUMBA Jean	TWAGIRAMUNGU	M.NKUSI	Kabaha	Mibilizi
105. NDAGIJIMANA I.	BURAYOBERA	—	Kabaha	Mibilizi
106. UWAMUGENGA J.B.	NTAMAKEMWA	NYIRARUGENDO	Kabahinda	Mibilizi
107. MUHIRWA Ferdinand	MUZEHE	NYIRAKABILIZI	Kabaha	Mibilizi
108. KAGAME Athanase	KAYIBANDA	—	Kagikongo	Mibilizi
109. JOSEPH	BURAYOBERA	—	Kabaha	Mibilizi
110. VALENTIN	BERNARD	MUKARUKAKA	Gahinza	Winteko
111. MUGIRANEZA J.C.	HABAKURAMA	NYIRABUZURU	Gahinza	Winteko
112. KAMANZI Félix	HAVUGIMANA	—	—	Winteko
113. KAYIGIRE Déo	—	—	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
114. NKURUNZIZA Jean	Ntamabyaliro	—	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
115. MPAMO Thomas	Biniga	—	Rusambu	Nyakarenzo
116. KARIYOPI	Kajeguhakwa	—	—	Nyakarenzo
117. NSENGUMUREMYI V.	SEMANYWA	—	Miko	Nyanyinya
118. MUKESHAJAMBO J.	NSANZURWIMO	—	Miko	Nyanyinya

COMMUNE GAFUNZO.

119. TWAGIRAYEZU A.	SANDURUME	MUKAGAKWAYA	Karango	Mukoma
120. BAKAREKE Félicien	RUBERANGABO	KANGABE	Karango	Mukoma
121. BUHIRE Eliézer	GASHEREBUKA	KAMANYANA	Bukoro	Nyabitekari
122. Kayinamura V.	KAREKEZI	NYIRARWIMO	Bukoro	Nyabitekari
123. MARIROSI Pierre	MARIROSI	MUKANDUTIYE	Karambo	Shangi

Perezida wa Repubulika ategereje iki ngo asezerere gashozamvururu Nsengiyaremye

Twari tuzi ko ikiranga umugabo Nsengiyaremye Dismas ari ubuswa gusa dore ko yabyerekanye bihagije. Ariko uwo mugabo ahishe n'ibindi byinshi. Iby'ubugambanyi byo twari tubizi, ariko agomba kuba ari n'umugome n'indyarya. Umuntu uzi neza ko ari mu ba mbere bashinzwe iki gihugu, akaba ashaka kukiroha mu yindi ntambara n'iya mbere itari yarangira? Nsengiyaremye wagira ngo intambara turwana n'inyenzi-nkotanyi ntiha gije akaba ashaka n'iyi hagati mu gihugu.

Nsengiyaremye urebye niwe nyirabayazana w'imvururu zimaze iminsi zivugwa mu gihugu cyacu cyane cyane muri perefegitura ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Kibuye. Nawe se umuntu woshya abaturage ngo batemane! Iyo abwira abaturage ngo birwaneho, aho aba atekereza ingaruka z'ayo magambo? Yarangiza akigira nyoni nyinshi. Nibarize Nsengiyaremye, abaturage birwanaho batewe na nde? Erega n'umumotsi wa Nsengiyaremye, Pascal Ndengejeho akihanga ngo shebuje ntiyavuze ko... yashakaga kuvuga ko... Ntiyabonye uko abaturage bihagararaho! Ibibera mu Rwanda bisa n'ibibera muri Zaïre, aho Minisitiri w'Intebe Etienne Tshisekedi kimwe na Nsengiyaremye, arimo gukomeza igihugu ngo ni uguhimana. Perezida Mobutu we rero ntavugirwamo! Yafashe icyemezo cyo gusezerera Guverinoma itagira icyo ikora na nyirayo Tshisekedi. Sinzi icyo Perezida Habyarimana we ategereje ngo asezerere umuntu waranzwe n'ubushobozi buke kariya kageni. Nta kibuze kandi ngo ibyo bikorwe dore ko anabifitiye uburenganzira ahabwa n'itegeko-nshinga. Buriya ubwo ari Perezida Habyarimana wasanga agisana imitima! Azasana ageze ryari?

Perezida wa Repubulika nafate ibyemezo ibintu bitaradogera.

Habyarimana ntawe umubijije gushishoza, kwitonda, nk'uko du-

sanzwe tubimuziho. Ariko hari igihe umukuru w'igihugu agomba gukora akazi abaturage bamushinze kuko niwe bibazwa. Muri iki gihe hari ipiganwarikabije hagati ya Minisitiri w'Intebe na Perezida wa Repubulika. Iryo piganwa, dushatse twakwita «ipiganwa», usanga riterwa ahanini no kwiyoroshya gukabije kwa Perezida Habyarimana, gutuma Nsengiyaremye yiyumva mu rwego atarimo. Ubundi uko ahandi bigenda, Minisitiri w'Intebe ni umukozi (umufasha) wa Perezida wa Repubulika, ntabwo Minisitiri w'Intebe ari Perezida wa kabiri mu gihugu. Kandi demokrasi ni imwe kw'isi hose, nta kuvuga ngo mu Rwanda dufite uko twumva demokrasi gutandukanye n'ukw'ahandi. Ikibazo kimaze iminsi cyarateye rwaserera mu Rwanda, atari na ngombwa, ngo ni icyo kumenya ugomba kuyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda mu mishyikirano ibera Arusha.

Perezida wa Repubulika niwe we nyine ufite uburenganzira bwo guhitamo uyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda mu mahanga, akabikora mu izina ry'abanyarwanda ahagarariye. Perezida wa Repubulika amaze kubona ko Ngurinzira Boniface atashoboye gusohozza neza ubutumwa guverinoma yari yamushinze, yamushimbuje undi, uwo ni Gasanga James, Minisitiri w'Ingabo. Ejo bundi Nsengiyaremye muri ka gasuzuguro asuzugura umukuru w'igihugu, ati ntibishoboka. Ngo Gasanga azayobora intumwa z'u Rwanda inshuro imwe, Ngurinzira indi nshuro, n'inyenzi Ndasingwa Landowalidi nayo ngo iryo shema azaribona. None se buri muntu azasinye amasezerano ye, undi asinye aye, dufate ayahe, tureke ayahe? Amasezerano Ngurinzira Boniface, intumwa bwite ya Nsengiyaremye, yashyizeho umukono, aho atugeze nitwe tuhazirira, ay'inyenzi Ndasingwa Lando azasinyana na bene wabo Arusha yo tuzayakira? Ni ugu-shiduka zageze i Kigali! Amakosa, ubugambanyi, ubuswa bwa Nse-

ngiyaremye bugiye gutuma n'abadufashaga badukura ho amaboko. Nsengiyaremye ntiyasanze iki gihugu cyihagazeho, amahanga acyemera? None dore!

Twese rwose dushyigikiye ko imvururu zahosha, abazigizemo uruhare bagahanwa. Ariko hari ibyo dukwiriye kwitondera. Anketi zizakorwa ku bategetsi baba baragize uruhare muri izo mvururu cyangwa se ngo baba batarashoboye gukora akazi kabo neza, ntizizabe urwitwazo rwo gushyira mu bikorwa umugambi w'inyenzi wo kwikiza abategetsi bazibangamiye. Ntawe uyobewe ko Nsengiyaremye afite ikiraka cy'inyenzi yiyemeje kugeza ku butegetsi. Aha turasaba Perezida Habyarimana kuba maso, ntibamusinyishe amatiku, azarengere abarengana. Cyangwa se Perezida wa Repubulika azabe nk'umwe mu ba minisitiri be bo hambere, umusaza Ildephonse Musafiri bavugaga ko yisinyiye kwegura (démission) atabizi kubera uburangari!

Ikindi twasaba Perezida wa Repubulika gusuzumana ubwitonzi, ni ubushotozi bwa Nsengiyaremye. Nawe se wakumvisha umuturage ute ukuntu abatutsi bavanywe mu byabo n'izi mvururu kubera ubwirasi bwabo, bategeka ko babagoboka, bakanabababura mu byabo, mu igihe abo inyenzi zirukanye mu Ruhengeri na Byumba, bacyangara? Abo batutsi se bategereje amasezerano y'Arusha icyo azageraho nk'uko abandi bakomeje gutegereza ari nako babasukaho amasasu nkanawe abacumbikiye na Padiri! Naho ibyo kuvuga ngo bazabura ibinyamukuru kuvuga ukuri, ntibishoboka kuko ni nko gusubiza igihugu cyacu inyuma nk'icyinyejana cyose! Dushyize mu gaciro, niba hari umutegetsi ugomba guhanwa kubera imvururu zabaye, uwa mbere ni Nsengiyaremye ubwe, abandi bakaza nyuma.

Kangura

BURUNDI: BUYOYA azava ku butegetsi muri Kamena 1993.

Abahutu b'i Burundi bari bamaze imyaka irenga magana ane ku ngoyi y'abatutsi, baba bari hafi kuruhuka. Perezida w'u Burundi, Major Petero Buyoya (Buhinja), wari amaze imya-

ka itanu akandamiza imbaga y'abahutu amaze kubona ko ibintu byamukomeranye, yiciriye urumukwiye. Ku wa gatanu tariki ya gatanu Gashyantare 1993, yatangaje ko mu kwezi kwa ga-

tandatu uyu mwaka, ari bwo hazaba amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'ay'abadepite. Ayo matora agomba gusiga byanze bikunze rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu i Burundi ifashe



ubutegetsi binyuze mu nzira ya demokrasi. Uretse ko ari abahagabo!

Ni ukwitonda. Umututsi Buyoya atangaza buriya, nta gushidikanya ko atari yabyumvikanyeho n'abatutsi bene wabo. Bakaba barateganyije ukuntu bazaburizamo ariya matora cyangwa se barateganyije undi mututsi ushobora gusimbura Buyoya. Bityo abahutu b'i Burundi bagize 85 ku ijana by'abarundi bose bakaguma mu bucakara. Ntawe byatangaza. Buyoya yemeye politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi biruhaniye. Yabanje kubeshya ko icyo politiki ngo ari yo gutanya abarundi. Ubwo yashakaga kuburizamo ibitekerezo by'imbaga nyamwinshi y'abahutu, abatutsi bene wabo bakandamije kuva kera. Abafasha igihugu cy'u Burundi (bailleurs de Fonds), niba babereye ibamba uwo mwiganyirye bamutegeka kwemera ishingwariy'amasheya menshi aho mu Burundi. Buyoya abuze ukubagira yiga undi mutwe. Atanga itegeko ko amashyamba avugira rubanda rw'abahutu atemerwa nk'andi mashyamba.

Uwo mugambi awushinga umuhutu w'icyitso, Faransisko NGEZE, u-shinzwe "intwari yo hagati" (Minister). Sibwo PALIPEHUTU ayihinduye ngo ni agatsiko k'abiganyirye! Biba n'urwitwazo rwo koreka abahutu bagatira ingano nk'uko bakuru be, Micombero, Bagaza n'abandi babigenje.

Amateka y'u Burundi atwereka neza ukuntu abahutu b'i Burundi birangayeho mu mwaka w'1959 igihe bene wabo bo mu Rwanda bipakururaga ingoyi ya cyami. icyo gihe abatutsi bari ku ngoma mu Burundi bashukishije abahutu baho ishyamba UPRONA ryabeshyaga ko riharanira ubumwe bw'abarundi. Nyamara byaje kugaragara koryari ishyamba ry'abatutsi. Abahutu aho gushinga ishyamba ribarenge, bata igihe cyabo ngo bari muri UPRONA. Ingaruka z'ubwo burangare zaje kubageza kure. Muzi abahutu bapfuye ku "ntwari" ya Micombero, Bagaza, Buyoya... uko bangana. Ubwo kandi ni nako bagikomeza ku babeshya ko abarundi bose bibumbiye mu "mugambwe" umwe wa Uprona.

Abahutu bamwe na bamwe b'inkwaku, babonye ibintu bikabije bene wabo bakomeza gushirira ku icumu biyemeza gushyiraho ishyamba ry'abahutu b'i Burundi, PALIPEHUTU. Abatutsi ntibari basinziriye, bahise bivugana inkwaku zafashe iya mbere, GAHUTU Remy baba baramwirengeje.

Igihe kirageze ngo abahutu b'i Burundi babe maso, bakanguke, kuko amaraso bamennye arahagije. Nibongerera kurangara niba bizagaruka. Nibime amatwibiriya Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo birirwa bababeshya ngo mu Burundi nta muhutu, nta mututsi, nta mutwa, ubayo. Ngo umurundi ni umurundi gusa, nta bwoko agira. Wajya kumva ngo abahutu n'abatutsi basubiranyemo! Ayo moko se kandi aba avuye he ko abarundi ari bamwe. Abahutu b'i Burundi nibime amatwibiriya bifutero Buyoya abapakira ngo ni "Charte de l'unité nationale" ari byo yita "ubumwe" bw'abarundi. Nyamara ari amayeri abatutsi barimo gukoresha ngo bongere bagwe abahutu gituma. Abahutu b'abarundi nibahagurukire rimwe barwane ku nyungu zabo. Kuki ishyamba ry'abo, PALIPEHUTU ritemerwa ku mugaragaro. Rero ngo riravangura! Se ubundi bishoboka bite ko abarundi bose baba bamwe, bagatekereza kimwe? Mbe nka wa muririmbyi w'umwirabura wo muri Amerika Peter Tosh ati: "Get up... Stand up... Fight for your Rights" (Muhaguruke, muhagarare, murwane ku burenganzira bwanyu).. Agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo!

KANGURA



Iminsi ya nyuma ya BUYOYA

Ingomantutsi y'igitugu y'umugabo Petero Buyoya w'u Burundi igeze mu minsi ya nyuma na nyuma. Kuko rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu b'i Burundi iri hafi gufata ubutegetsi izakusha amatora azaba muri Kamena 1993. Nk'uko ntawe upfa atasambye, Buyoya nawe ni uko. Yiyenyeje ku Rwanda igihe kirekire ariko aho ageze noneho umenya ashaka kwiyahura. Ngo u Rwanda nirwo rusabota demo-

krasi mu Burundi da! Ubundi se hari demokrasi yigeze muri icyo gihugu?

Muzi ukuntu umuyobozi w'ikinyamakuru Kangura yatotejwe mu minsi ishize, agafatwa, agafungwa bitegetswe na Buyoya. Ubwo kandi ni nako wa muswa muri politiki, Nsengiyaremye Dismas yirirwa aremesha inama za guverinoma ngo zo kwiga ikibazo cya Kangura. Ntitwakwirirwa

tunatinda ku mahomvu y'umumotsi we, Pascal Ndengejeho wirirwa amuka kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo Ngeze Hassan arasopanya umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Emwe, nta nama n'imwe y'umutekano itarigiwemo ikibazo cya Kangura ngo barashimisha Buyoya kugira ngo akomeze amarorerwa ye yo kwica abahutu b'i Burundi nta nkomyi.

Igitangaje ni uko Buyoya atituye u Rwanda ineza rwamugiriye rwemera gufunga Ngeze ahubwo akaba yarashumuriye ibinyamakuru byo mu gihe cyeye tuzi ko bivugira abatutsi n'inkotanyi. Muri iyi barwa ikurikira, ambasaderi w'u Rwanda i Bujumbura arashyira ahagaragara ubushotoranyi bw'ibinyamakuru by'abatutsi b'i Burundi wagira ngo bihemberwa gusebya u Rwanda. Buyoya ntazongere rero kwikoma Kangura nivuga akari imurorore ku mafuti ye.

(NDLR: umwimerere (originale) w'iyi baruwa uri mu rurimi rw'igifaransa).

Kangura

Repubulika y'u Rwanda
Ambasade y'u Rwanda
i Bujumbura

Bujumbura, tariki ya 12-01-1993

Kuri Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane y'Igihugu cy'u Burundi

Bujumbura

Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura yishimiye kumenyesha ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika y'u Burundi ibi bikurikira: Mu minsi ishize, ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda itangazwa n'inyanidiko zisohoka mu Kinyamakuru "In-

dependant" zisebya u Rwanda ngo rusabota inzira ya Demokurasi u Burundi bwiyeje gukurikira. icyo kinyamakuru cyakomeje kubeshyera u Rwanda kugeza kuri N° 47 yasohotse tariki ya 5 Mutarama 1993 yemeza ko inzego zishinzwe umutekano mu Rwanda ngo zaba zaragerageje kwivugana umuyobozi w'ishyamba FRODEBU, yanditswe n'uwitwaga B. Barutwanayo.

Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda mu Burundi irasaba Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane y'igihugu cy'u Burundi kuyisobanurira icyo bene izo nyandiko zigamije mu gihe guverinoma y'u Rwanda yatangaje inshuro nyinshi ko ishyigikiye politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi mu Burundi bwiyeje gukurikira, inifuriza icyo gihe gukuzayisozza neza.

Nk'uko Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi izi neza ibibazo u Rwanda rufite muri iki gihe, ni muri urwo rwego igomba kwiyumvisha ukuntu ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura yakomeje kwihanganira inyandiko zisebanya zagiye zisohoka mu binyamakuru "indépendant" na "carrefour des idées". Ambasade ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda i Bujumbura ikaba isaba Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi gukoresha ubushobozi bwose ifite kugira ngo iryo tiku rerekere aho. Ibyo bizatuma umubano mwiza, ubwumvikane no kutishyamba busanzwe biranga Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'iy'u Burundi bisagamba.

Ambasade y'u Rwanda i Burundi ibaye ishimiyeye Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane ya Repubulika y'u Burundi ingoga izakirana icyo kibazo.

Bujumbura tariki ya 12-01-1993
Uhagarariye u Rwanda i Bujumbura
Sylvestre UWIBAJIJE
Sé

Bimenyeshejwe:

- Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda
KIGALI
- Nyakubahwa Ministiri w'Intebe
KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'Ubutwererane
KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Ingabo
KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini
KIGALI
- Ministiri w'Intangazamakuru
KIGALI
- Bwana Chef wa SRSD
KIGALI

COMITE DE REDACTION

NGEZE Hassan: Directeur de Publication et Rédacteur en Chef.

NYABYENDA Issa: Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint

NDEKEZI Bonaparte: Journaliste
SIMBIZI Stanislas: Journaliste
MIRASANO Célestin: Journaliste
SIBOMANA Nabantu: Journaliste
HITIMANA Noël: Journaliste

Nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu.

Abahanga bazobereye mu byerekeye iyororoka ry'abantu batubwira ko impamvu abatutsi bakomeje kuba bake (aho bari hose), ari uko bashyiririrana bonyine. Abantu bavuka mu muryango umwe bakarongorana, bakabyarana. Nyamara ntibamenye ko uko kwironda, barebye nabi kwabaviramo gucika kw'isi. Biramutse bibaye (kandi bizaba) ntibazagire uwo bitakana nibo bazaba bizize. None se ni abahutu bazaba babatemye ra! Dore ko ari yo mvugo bagenda bakwiza ngo abahutu nibo batuma baba bake kuko ngo babamarishije umupanga. Reka bazabe nk'umugabo Landowalidi Ndasingwa, Ministiri muri Guverino-

ma ya Nsengiyaremye, ugenda abeshya rubanda n'amahanga ngo igituma acumbagira ni inkoni yakubiswe igihe yari yafashwe mu byitso. Nyamara se ni nde uyobewe ko yavutse ari ikimuga! Gusa kuba ikimuga si icyaha uretse ko na none kumugara bitagene abahutu gusa. N'imfura ziraremara kuko Imana yo itavangura.

Twatangiyeye tuvugaga ko nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu. Kandi ni byo! Inyenzu ibyara indi nyenzi. Ubihakana si uwanjye. Amateka y'u Rwanda atwereka neza ko umututsi akiri wundi, atigeze ahinduka. Amayeri, ubugome bwe biracyari bya bindi tuzi

mu mateka y'igihugu cyacu. Abatutsi bakiri kungoma, bategekeshaga ibintu bibiri: abagore babo n'inka. Ibyo bintu nibyo byahatse abahutu imyaka magana ane yose. Abatutsi bamaze guhirikwa na revolisiyo ya rubanda mu w'1959 ntibigeze basinzira. Bakoze uko bashoboye kugira ngo bagarure ingoma yabo bakoresheje ibizungerezi byabo, n'amafaranga asa n'ayafashe umwanya w'inka. Dore ko kera inka yari ikimenyetso cy'ubukire.

Tuvuze ko inyenzu ibyara indi nyenzi ntabwo tuba twibeshya. None se hari uwatandukanyaga inyenzu zateye u Rwanda mu Kwakira 1990, ukozi-tandukanyaga n'izo mu myaka ya 1960. Zose zifitanye isano, zimwe n'inzuzukuru z'izindi. Ubugome bwazo ni bu-

mwe. Ibyo bitero byose bigamije kugurura ingoma ya cyami na gihake. Amatorerwa inyenzi z'ubu zikorera abaturage, ni kimwe n'ay'iza kera zakoraga: kwica, gusahura, gufata abari n'abategarugori ku ngufu n'ibindi.

Kuba mu rurimi rwacu, bamwita inzoka, byonyine birahagije. Bivugabinyinshi. Umututsi ni wa muntu ugira akarimi gasize amavuta, nyamara ubugome bwe bukaba burenze urugero. Umututsi ni wa muntu ugira inzika idashira, udashobora kumenya icyo atekereza, mugaseka nyamara we ashira. Mu rurimi rwacu, kuba umututsi yitwa inyenzi ni uko yitwikira ijoro, akigira nyoni nyinshi kugira ngo asoze umugambi we. Ijambo inyenzi na none ritwibutse inzoka kabutindi ifite ubumara bukaze cyane. Kuba rero umututsi yarahisemo kwiyita amazina nk'ayo, uwumva yakumva. Nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu koko. Iyo urebye neza amayeri y'umututsi w'ubu kimwe n'ay'uwo hambere. Amateka y'u Rwanda niyo dutanga ho umugabo. Atubwira ko abatutsi bahakishije abahutu igihe kirekire abagore n'inka. Nyuma y'aho bavaniwe ku butegetsi mu w'1959, abatutsi barongeye bakoresha ibizungerezi n'amafanga (inka za kera) kugira ngo basubize abahutu mu bucakara. Repubulika ya mbere yashoboye kwihagararaho ku-

bera cyane cyane Nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda wari uzi neza amayeri y'umututsi. Repubulika ya kabiri yoyaye igwa mu mutego w'inyenzi-ntutsi. Abatutsi bahumye abahutu cyane cyane abari bafite imyanya ikomeye mu butegetsi, babadabagiza mu "mahoro" n'ubumwe" nabo ubwabo batemera. Babashyirira ibizungerezi birabazubaza biratinda. Mu gihe abahutu bari mu muganda no muri amashyamba abatutsi bateguraga igitero cyabasubiza ku butegetsi.

Abahutu bashigutse, Rwigema na bagenzi be bambutse Kagitumba. Ni byo abahutu bise ngo batewe batunguwe. Habaye ahabagabo naho ubundi inyenzi zari zirufashe mpiri. Mu gihe ibizungerezi by'abatutsikazi byarimo kugonesha abahutu bakomeye muri iki gihugu, abana b'abatutsi barize baraminuza none nibo baganga, abarimu, ba avoka, abakuru b'amadini... reka mu bucuruzi hose sinakubwira ni bo bafite umutungo w'igihugu. Mu gihe abahutu bo barimo kuryana ngo bamwe ni abakiga, abandi abanyenduga, cyangwa se ngo bamwe ni interahamwe, abandi inkuba, abasederi cyangwa abakombozi. Umututsi yigaramiye. Abahutu barebye nabi basanga revolisiyo bakoze mu w'1959 abatutsi barayibibye.

No muri ibi bihe bya demokrasi ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi, abatutsi baracyarindagiza abahutu. Umututsi azakubeshya ko ari muri MRND nyamara ayirwanya, agashuka abahutu barimo ngo batemane, basenyerane. Umututsi azakubwira ko ari muri MDR nyamara ntibibagiwe aka kanya ko ariyo yabavanye ku ngoma mu w'1959. Umututsi azarwanya CDR ishushyaka ry'abahutu ngo riravangura. CDR ivangura ite ko abahutu ari bamwe, wabavangura ute? Nyamara ntibagire icyo bavugaga kuri PL igizwe n'abatutsi gusa uretse udukingirizo tw'abahutu bashyiramo. Abatutsi bashyamba amashyamba yabo (PL, FPR) ntibiyumvishaga ko n'abahutu nabo bagira ishyamba ryabo CDR ribabwiza ukuri. None se umututsi azavugaga ko ari umututsi, umuhutu navuga ko ari umuhutu ngo aravangura. Umututsi afite amategeko amugenga, umuhutu navuga ko nawe afite amategeko (icumi) agomba gukurikiza ngo yirengere, ngo ni umwicanyi. Nibavugaga ko nta nyenzi ibyara ikinyugunyugu ngo abahutu bavangura amoko.

Kangura

HABYARIMANA NIYUMVE ICYO ABAHUTU BAMUSABA

Habyarimana agifata ubutegetsi tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, yashingiyeho politiki ye ku «bumwe n'amahoro». Urebye imvururu zariho muri icyo gihe zishingiyeho ku moko no ku turere, usanga icyo politiki yari ifite ishingano. Gusa ikibabajene uko icyo yatonesheje ubwo ko bumwe bw'abatutsi mu gihe imbagaga nyamwinshi yakomezaga kudindira. Igiteye agahinda ni uko n'abo abatutsi Habyarimana yakoreye batamushimye ahubwo bagasigara bamuhema.

Kubera ko Habyarimana yagabiyeho abatutsi agakabya, abantu bari basigaye bavugaga ko nawe ari umututsi. Nawentiyabihishaga. Hari igihe se ativugira ko ntacyo atakoze ngo abatutsi bamemerewe neza. Uboshye hari uwari yamutumye. Abatutsi baradamaraye ku ngoma ya Habyarimana biratinda. Ngabo mu mashuri, ngabo mu bucuruzi, ngabo mu butegetsi, banashobora no gushyirira abakobwa babo benshi



mu bahutu bari mu myanya ikomeye. Abatutsi bakomeje kuryoha kugeza aho umurengwe wabo ubumvishije ko bagomba gutera u Rwanda bagasubira kungoma. Si bwo bateye tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990! Habyarimana ati: «twawe dutunguwe»! Nyamara iyo aza kuba maso akumva inama z'abahutu bene wabo, ntagumye kudahagira n'abatutsi, ibintu ntibiba byaragombye kugera hariya.

Bavuga ko kunga ubumwe n'umututsi ari nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba. Kandi koko nibyo. Nawe se ukuntu Habyarimana yarwanye ku batutsi, akabakundwakaza, niba bakwiye kumuha ruhande nyuma bashakakumuhirika? Reka babikore niwe wabikururiye. Ntacyaha batamurega. Ngo yikubiye ubutegetsi, ngo nta demokarasi, ngo ategukeshye igitugu, ngo yababujije kwishyira ngo bizane.

Nyamara igihugu gitewe tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu, Habyarimana yakomeje gusuzugura, niyo yitabaje. Nayo ntiyamutengushye. Ifatanije n'ingabo z'igihugu, batsinze inyenzi n'ibiyitso byazo. Habyarimana akozwe n'isoni, yizeza abahutu ko bazahorera bene wabo baguye ku rugamba. Ntibiteye kabiri, nta wamenya uko yahi-

ndutse noneho ati: «ibyo guhora mu-byibagirwe, gusana imitima nibyo bigezweho». Wagirango umututsi yari yongeye gukora ku giti cye (feuille)! Ubwo kandi niko inyenzi zigisuka ibisasu ku baturage b'inzirakarengane abandi zibirukana mu byabo. Rubanda yarumiwe! Ubu isigaye yibaza ukuntu inyenzi zaje zica, zisahura, zamara gutsindwa, umukuru w'igihugu agasaba abaturage kwiunga nazo. None se kwitabara ni ikosa. Urebye neza kuba abaturage barirwanyeho, basa n'aho bakoshereje inyenzi. Ahubwo ibaye ibishoboka nizo zari zikwiye gusaba imbabazi. Kuki Habyarimana agitsimbaraye ku batutsi kandi bo bararangije ku mwereka ko batamushakaka?

✱ Rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu imaze gutsinda intambara y'amasasu, ubu irahatana n'iya politiki. Habyarimana niba akidabagira mu batutsi be, amenye ko rubanda nyamwinshi yo iri maso. Ntabwo rero izongera gutera itunguwe kuko ibuye ryagaragaye riba ritakishye isuka. Rubanda nyamwinshi ntizemera na rimwe guhezwa mu butegesi mu mishyikirano ibera Arusha. icyo twakwishimira ni uko umukuru w'igihugu atangiye noneho kumva ijwi rya rubanda. Abisabwe n'abadepite (intumwa za rubanda), Perezida wa Re-

pubulika yafashe icyemezo cya kigabo cyo guhindura uyobora intumwa z'u Rwanda muri icyo mishyikirano. Umugambanyi NGURINZIRA avaho, asimbuzwa Minisitiri w'ingabo, Gasana James. Bityo umugambi wa NSE-NGIYAREMYE n'intumwa ye NGURINZIRA wo kugurisha igihugu upfuba utyo. Uretse ko bidahagije. Perezida wa Repubulika yari akwiye no gusaba ku mugaragararo ko ingingo zikubiye mu masezerano aherutse gushyirwaho umukono na Ngurinzira, ingingo zibangamiye inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi zasubirwamo. Dore ko byagaragaye ko rubanda inenga izo ngingo akaba ari nacyo gituma hirya no hino mu gihugu harabaye imvururu zahitanye abantu batagira ingano.

✱ Igihe kandi kirageze ko Perezida Habyarimana yumva inama abahutu bene wabo bamugira kuko umunsi Inkotanyi z'abatutsi zafashe igihugu nawe zitazamusiga.

KANGURA.

INGABO Z'U RWANDA MU GIHUGU CYUZUYE ABAGAMBANYI.

Inkotanyi zageze mu nkengeru z'umugi wa Ruhengeri hakiri kare. Mbere ya saa yine z'ijoro zari zatanze kwica abaturage na zimwe mu ngabo zari kuri bariyeri, hakoreshejwe ibyuma. Zaje zizi ahantu hose ingabo z'u Rwanda zirinze umugi zikambitse, uko zingana n'ibikoresheho zifite. Muri icyo ntambara yo mu Ruhengeri byagaragaye ko abasirikari b'u Rwanda bari bahari ari bake. Nk'abari k'umusozi wa Nyamagumba bahanganye n'inyenzi kuva mu ma saa saba z'ijoro tariki ya 8 kugera hafi mu gitondo. Ibyangombwa byarabashiranye baramanuka, inkotanyi zizamuka uwo musozi. Zarahageze zirasa cyane mu kigo kiri mu nsi y'uwo musozi ariyemo Mubona. Ingabo zakomeje kukirinda. Mu bitaro bya Ruhengeri naho zahamisha urusasu, abarwayi babura kirwaza, ingabo z'u Rwanda zikomeretse zikabura kivura.

Zaje zije. Abasirikari b'u Rwanda bagemurirwa ibiturutse mu Ruhengeri babafungiyemo amayira anyuzwamo i-

ngemu. Zerekanye ko utera aba atekereza cyane kurusha uterwa we ugomba gusa guhangana, n'ubwo atazi aho aturuka. Ibintu byose zabishyize ku murongo. Mbese ya mashyamba MDR, PL, na PSD yasinye nazo i Buruseli amasezerano yo kujya azigazaho amakuru yaragakoze k'uburyo bugaragara. Ibi bigora cyane ingabo z'u Rwanda zikomeje guharanira ubusugire bw'igihugu mu bagambanyi nka Twagiramungu, Nsengiyaremye n'abandi. Cyakora, abanyarwanda b'inyangamugayo baracyafitiye icyizere ingabo zabo; zizirukana inyenzi vuba.

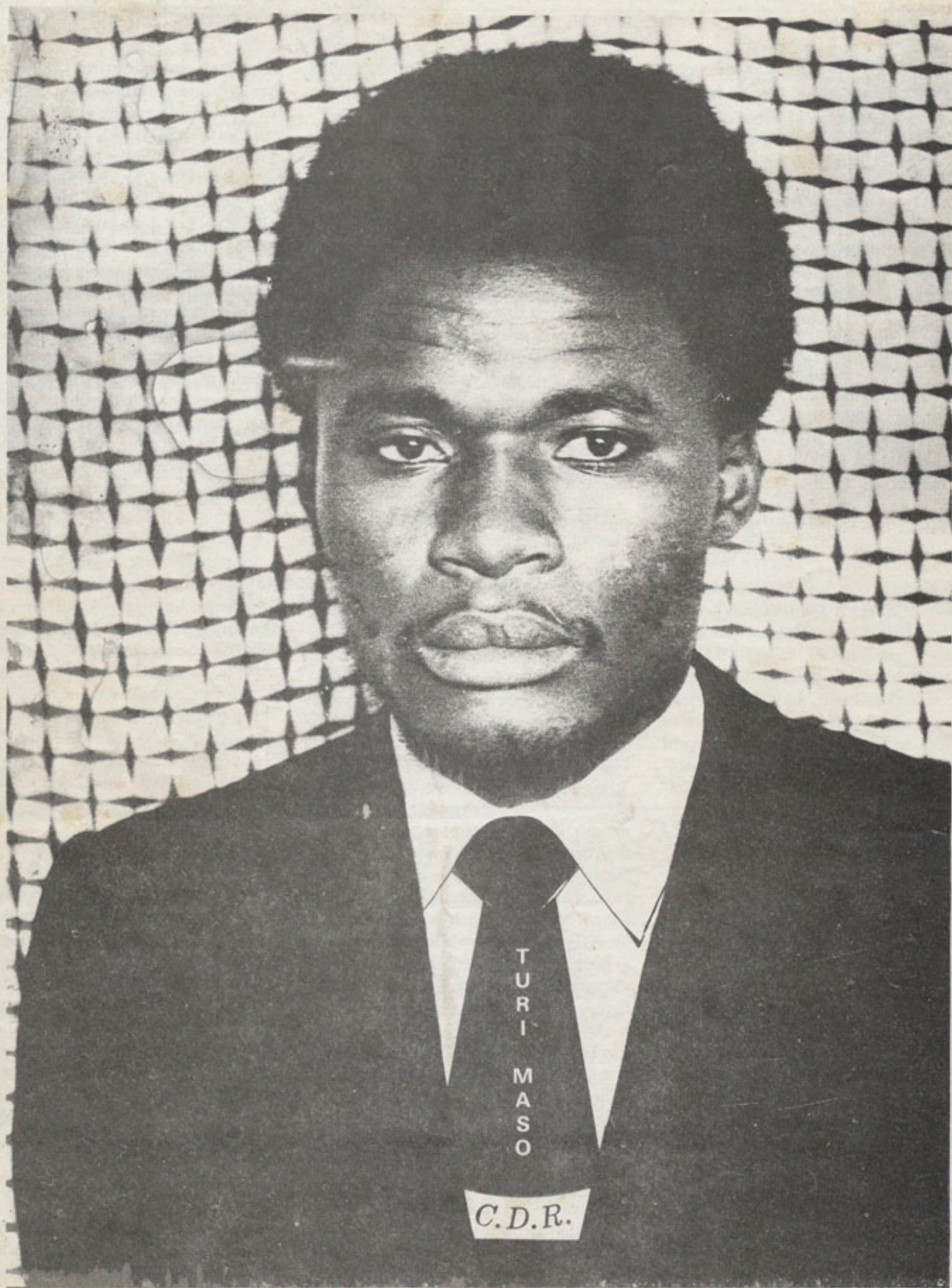
Turatekereza ko ibintu byo gupfa kwirukana no gufunga ingabo z'u Rwanda ari ikimenyetso cy'ubugambanyi. Ubwo buryo bwari bukiye kwamaganwa hakiri kare. Noneho hagafatwa ibindi byemezo bishya. abanyarwanda babishoboye kandi babishakira bari bakwiye gukorana amasezerano n'igihugu cyabo yo guhabwa imyitoto ya gisirikari, yarangira bagataha, byaba ngombwa bagahamagazwa icyarimwe bakajya kurengera igihugu. Ubwo hakwigwaga n'uburyo bwo kurwanya ingaruka mbi zose zishobora kubyarwa n'icyo ngamba.

ITANGAZO

Mu gihe twacapishaga iyi nimero ya 40, tumenye ko Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yatangiye gushyira mu bikorwa wa mugambi Nsengiyaremye afitanye n'inyenzi wo kwikiza abategesi bamwe na bamwe bazibangamiye. Mwiyumviye abategesi iyo guverinoma isabira kwirukanwa. Ibyo kandi bigakorwa ntacyo iyo guverinoma ishingiyeho kindi uretse gushimisha inyenzi. None se abo bategesi baregwa ngo niba bateje imvururu zima ze iminsi zivugwa, hari anketi yigeze ikorwa ngo ibahamye icyaha?

Turasaba Perezida wa Repubulika, mu izina rya rubanda ahagarariye, kutagwa muri uriya mutego umwanzi ashakira kumurohamo. Bityo azange ibyo bamusaba byo kwirukana abafasha be nta kosa bakoze. Turasaba kandi abaturage kwihagararaho bakarengera abategesi babo kugira ngo batazabasimbuzira inyenzi.

Kangura



*«Imiryango yose izwi ko yohereje abana babo mu nyenzi igambiriye kuri-
mbura ingabo z'u Rwanda na bene gahutu bose, niyo izaryozwa amaraso ya-
bo inkotanyi zatsembye».*

NGEZE Hassan.